

THE
First Resurrection :
OR, A
DISSERTATION,
WHEREIN

The *Prior* and *Special Resurrection* and Reward of the *most Eminent Christian Witnesses*, during the Rage of *Paganism* and *Antichristianism*, is considered,

In Two Grand Inquiries:

I. Concerning the Certainty and Genuine
IDEA of this Truth.

Where Dr. *Whitby's* Arguments are Answer'd, and
Mr. *Staynoe's* Notion Refuted.

II. Concerning the *Epocha* of this Truth, and
of the *Millennium*.

Where the *Apocalyptical Scheme* of the *Bishop of Worcester*.
and Mr. *Whiston*, as publish'd by the latter, is proved
to be a very Precarious one.

Being a *NEW KEY*,

By which further Light is brought, not only into
the *Text* and *Context* insisted upon ; but also into
many other memorable *Passages* of *Scripture*.

Together with a *Practical Improvement* of the Whole.

By *ROBERT FLEMING*.

John 16. 12, 13. I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye are not Able to bear them now, &c.

Rev. 1. 1, 3. The Revelation of Jesus Christ, &c.

Dan. 9. 2. I Daniel understood by Books the Number of the Years, &c.

LONDON; Printed by *J. Humfreys* for *Andrew Bell* at the Cross-keys and Bible in *Cornhill*. 1708.

THE First Reformation: OR A DISSERTATION

WHERELN

The Pious and Special Reformation and Renewal
of the most Reverend Christian Ministry, be-
ring the Rays of Paganism and Antichristian-
ism, is considered.

In Two Grand Inquiries:

I. Concerning the Certainty and Genuine
IDEA of this Trade.

Where Dr. Whately's Arguments are Answer'd, and
Mr. Squire's Notion Rectified.

II. Concerning the Effects of this Trade, and
of the Millennium.

Where the above-mentioned Scheme of the Bishop of Worcester
and Mr. N. Squire, as published by the latter, is proved
to be a very Precarious one.

Being a NEW KEY

By which further Light is brought, not only into
the True and Genuine Intention upon; but also into
many other remarkable Passages of Scripture.
Together with a Practical Improvement of the Whole.

By ROBERT FLEMING.

John 12. 12, 13. I have set a new Key, and no man
can open it now. Rev. 1. 3. The Revelation of Jesus Christ, &c.
Dan. 9. 2. I Daniel and my fellows have been studying the
books of the Law, &c.

BONDON, Printed by T. Knapman for Andrew
Bell at the Cross-Kays and Bible in Cornhill. 1705.

TO THE
Honourable, much Esteemed, and
Worthy
GENTLEMEN, MERCHANTS,
and Others,

Who Manage, Promote, and Encourage
the *Tuesday*-LECTURE at
SALTERSHALL.

Much Honoured and Worthy Friends ;

THE Second Part of the preceding Book,
*being too small to bear a due Proportion to
the First ; at the same time that Both are
too Bulky to be brought into the Compass
of one sizable Octavo Volume: I was oblig'd to
think of adding some suitable Discourse, by which
both Parts might be so far adjusted, as to keep some
Decorum, in Point of Proportion.*

*And, seeing my Thoughts have been so deeply taken
up of late, upon the Subject here treated of ; and see-*

ing also, I have deliver'd the Result of them to you, in my last Turns of Preaching: I could not so much as dispute with my self; either as to the Discourse most proper to be added, in this Place; or, as to the Persons, to whom the Appropriation thereof was most peculiarly due.

I confess, it was my Purpose formerly, to have let this Piece lie by me, until I had proceeded so far in this Work of Christology, as to come to have finish'd the Fifth Book, viz. that which is to treat of Christocracy; where, it is certain, it would have come in more properly than here. But when I consider'd the Uncertainty of Life, and upon how slender a Thread mine has hung for above a Year past, I was willing to lay hold of this Opportunity of printing it now; and the rather, because, not only of its being publish'd already in the way of Preaching, but, of its being, as I understand, mistaken, and mis-represented by some. And besides, I consider'd, that, as it is a common thing to joyn together several Tracts of very different Sorts in the same Volume; so that the Subject of this Dissertation doth not only belong to Christology in general; but has some peculiar Congruity with, and Relation unto, somethings treated of in the preceding Book; particularly as to some Thoughts in the Fourth and Fifth Chapters; to which I refer the Reader, in the Discourse it self, as I go along.

It has always been my Practice to preach upon the most weighty and necessary Truths of Christianity, without insisting upon little and minute Things. And therefore, tho I have studied the darker Prophecies, as well as other more obscure and remote Points of Revelation, and even printed some Speculations

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lations of this kind : Yet I never preach'd designedly, upon any thing of that Sort ; tho sometimes I could not avoid, to touch upon a Hint of that kind, when it came naturally in my way. And this was the Reason, why I confin'd myself to a short Abbreviation only of what I have said in this Treatise more largely ; for you may remember, that I spoke directly to the Subject of the special Resurrection, at the Beginning of the Millennium, in no more than a Part of one Sermon, upon Philip. 3. 11. whereas I insisted pretty largely upon the more practical Verses of the Context. Nor had I given you even so much of this Sort of Speculation as I did, from the Pulpit, had it been possible to avoid it, so as to have made Sense of the Apostle's Discourse.

You will not wonder therefore, either that I insisted so much upon Practice, and so little on Theory, when I preach'd to you from the 3d Chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians ; or that I have now enlarg'd so much on Theory in this Publication of my Thoughts, and confin'd my self to such short Hints, as to Practical Matters. For you cannot but know, that such Speculations, as might not be so proper to insist upon to a popular Auditory, even upon a Week-Day ; may yet be very reasonably enlarg'd upon in Print, for the Benefit of inquisitive, thoughtful, and serious Persons : And you may easily see, that had I equally enlarg'd upon the Practtical Points here, as upon the Theoretical ones ; this Discourse had not been capable either to have been brought in here, or indeed to have come easily within one Octavo Volume, if printed apart. And yet I am mistaken, if I have omitted any one Material Practtical Head, that I spoke of, from the Pulpit ; tho I was indispensibly oblig'd,
from

from the Reasons assigned, to abstain from the Inlargements and Amplifications which I then used.

But if some Men would have you to continue perpetually in the Rudiments of Christianity, so as never to venter to look beyond them, from the fallacious Method of crying out against Speculations not absolutely necessary to Salvation; I hope I may be allowed to imitate that Great and Good Man, whose Reasoning, as well as Authority, weighs much more with me. I mean the Great Apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, (for I can prove that it is his) who after he had spoken several curious and speculative Things concerning Melchisedeck, in Chap. 5. (without the Knowledge of which I do humbly suppose a Man might yet be capable of getting to Heaven;) takes occasion from thence, with a peculiar Concern and Warmth, to press Christians, not to rest satisfied with the Knowledge of Fundamental Truths; but to study to be acquainted likewise, as far as they can, with remoter Speculations, and indeed with whatever comes within the Compass of the Bible and Revealed Religion. And, for this end, after he had said, Chap. 5. v. 11, &c. Of whom (i. e. of Melchisedeck,) we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered; seeing ye are dull of hearing. For when, by the time, ye ought to be Teachers, ye have need that one teach you again, which be the first Principles of the Oracles of God; and are such as have need of Milk, and not of strong Meat. For every one that useth Milk is unskilful in the Word of Righteousness: For he is a Babe. But strong Meat belongeth to them, who are of full Age, even those, who, by reason of Use, have their Senses exercis'd to discern both

Good

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Good and Evil : I say, after this, he proceeds immediately to exhort us to go on from Contemplating the more Essential Truths of Religion, to the Study also of remoter Truths ; which he does after this manner, Chap. 6. 1, 2, 3. Therefore, leaving the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, Let us go on unto Perfection : Not laying again the Foundation of Repentance from Dead Works ; and of Faith towards God ; of the Doctrine of Baptisms ; and of Laying on of Hands ; and of the Resurrection of the Dead ; and of Eternal Judgment. And this will we do, if God permit.

As therefore I cannot think that any thing can be below us to study, which Christ did not think was below him to reveal to Men in his Word : So I find myself oblig'd not only as a Christian, but as a Scholar and Minister, to dive as deep as I can, into whatever my Blessed Master has, by his Spirit, laid before me as a Lesson. And, when I have learn'd it myself, I cannot but think I am likewise oblig'd, to impart the Knowledge of it, especially if very weighty and useful, to my Fellow-Christians ; as not daring either to counter-act the Dictates of Conscience, or transgress the Commands of Scripture ; by hiding my Light under a Busbel, or burying my Talent in the Earth.

As therefore I have been directed in what I have said in the preceding Book, to give such a Scriptural View of what relates to Christ, as, I think, was never publish'd before : So I hope you will find that I have been likewise assisted, thro' the good Hand of my God upon me, to bring in new Light to the Subject-Matter treated of here ; and, by that, to abundance of Scriptural Passages, which have never hitherto been

been fully cleared up; our best Divines and Critics having miss'd their Way in these, as in a Labyrinth, by Reason of their Want of this Scriptural Clue, with which I do now present You and the World.

But, not to detain you here in the Threshold, let me only beg you to accept of this Address in good Part, so as to keep it for my sake, and to peruse it for your own. And, whether you believe the special Resurrection, which I treat of here, or not: Yet, I am sure, it can do you no hurt, to act so, as if it were altogether uncontroverted; that thus each of you may be incited, as far as is possible, to emulate even the Excellent Apostle Paul, in his noble Ambition, to be the first Scholar of Christ's School, the bravest Soldier for his Cause, the most faithful Subject to his Government, the most dutiful Child of his Family, the most diligent Servant in his Work, and the most zealous Messenger to run his Errands; having your Eye thus fixed, as he had his, upon the glorious Prize of the high Calling of God in Christ Jesus.

Now, that both You and I may attain thus to act, in order to be thus also rewarded at last, is and shall be the sincere Endeavour and fervent Prayer of,

Honoured and Dear Friends,

Your Obligated, Cordial

and Obedient Servant,

in the Bonds of the Gospel,

ROBERT FLEMING.

A

DISSERTATION,
CONCERNING
The Prior and Special
RESURRECTION
OF THE
Most Eminent Christians,
During the Reign and Rage of Paganism
and Popery.

I Have propos'd, my Friends, to entertain your Thoughts with, and to direct your Practise by some weighty and useful Considerations, which the great Apostle *Paul* lays before Christians in these Verses (a) which I have read unto you. But, seeing I foresee, that some Truths, which I apprehend the Apostle insists on, may surprize most, if not all my Hearers, it will be proper to present you with the

(a) Viz. *Phil.* Chap. 3. ver. 1, 2, 3, &c. ver. 7, 8, 9, &c. especially ver. 11, 12, &c.

Scope and Connection of *Paul*, in this Discourse, at least so much of it as bears a Relation to what we have read from the 7th Verse. And seeing what the Apostle speaks of, in this Chapter, is wholly of a different Nature from what he runs upon either in the preceding Chapters, or in the following one; we have no Reason to run beyond the Limits of this Chapter, in order to understand his Design.

And here, in the first Place, let me tell you, that those that divided the Bible into Chapters, (and I suppose you know, that the Division of the Bible into Chapters and Verses, is but a Human Invention, and indeed a late one, tho' very useful in the Main, and honestly and well design'd,) were not so considerate, as they should have been, when they begin this Chapter, with this Sentence; *Finally, my Brethren, rejoice in the Lord*: Which, no doubt the Apostle design'd to dismiss the former Part of his Discourse with, as the concludory Words thereof. And having done so, it is plain, he does, as it were, pause a while, and then, after some Consideration, whither he should write upon the Subject treated of, in this Chapter, or not, he comes to resolve on the Affirmative, mov'd by this Reason; that it was the safer Side to do so, lest such important Truths, as these were, tho' fully insisted upon by him, in his Sermons and Discourses to those *Philippians*, to whom he writes, might come, at last, to be lost in Oblivion. And he considers, at the same time, that it was no great matter of Pains, to write down the Sum of that important Doctrine, that, it is plain, these Words suppose him to have insisted on, for some time, at *Philippi*.

So that the Chapter ought to have begun with these Words: *To write the same Things to you, (viz. which I delivered to you, formerly, by Word of Mouth) to me indeed is not οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύω grievous, (or what I am loath to be brought to) For (I consider that) to you it is ἀσφαλὲς safe.* Now, from hence, let me transiently observe, 1. How careful *Paul* was to guard against the Evils,

Evils, that Truth might sustain, by *Oral Tradition*, if not secur'd, by its being committed to writing. And indeed he had fatal Experience of this in the *Corinthian Church*, where tho he had preached and taught for two Years, *Acts* 19. 10. and no doubt frequently celebrated the Eucharist among them (it being the Custom of the Apostles to celebrate the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper, at least once a Week, *viz.* (a) every Lord's Day,) yet he had not been long absent from that Church, until the manner of the Celebration of it was quite perverted, and the Apostle obliged to write to them upon this Head, and to set down the exact Form and Manner of its true Administration, as we see, *1 Cor.* 11. *ver.* 17, &c. & *ver.* 23, &c. And, upon the same Reason, the Apostle *Peter* speaks after this manner to the Churches, to whom he writes; *2 Ep. Chap.* 1. *ver.* 15. *Moreover, I will endeavour that you may be able, after my Decease, to have these things always in Remembrance.* And indeed this has ever been a prevailing Reason with my self, to commit to Writing such Truths, as I thought might be of general Use to Men, and especially such of them, as might be most liable to be misrepresented, together with the Preacher of such things; if only to be learn'd from the frail Memories and imperfect Accounts of them that heard them; and much more, if only to be known from those that heard it at second, or third, or fourth Hand, *i. e.* from some Body who said, that he learn'd from one, that said he was acquainted with a Man, that heard *Paul* or *Peter* say so or so. And, 2. I observe hence likewise, that the Reason of the Obscurity of some Truths insinuated here, particularly in *ver.* 11, 12, &c. is this; That the Apostle contents himself with summing up the main Heads, that he had largely insisted upon, and cleared up to the *Philippians*, by Word of Mouth. For, ha-

(a) *Acts* 20. 7, 11. & *Chap.* 2. 42, 46. *Chap.* 27. 57. See Just. Martyr. *Apol.* 2. p. 98, 99. & *Plin. Epist. Lib.* 10. *Ep.* 97.

ving done this, he knew that he needed only just to hint things to them, seeing they were fully instructed in his Meaning before. But we being left, now, to find out his Sense, by a close and strict Inquiry into these brief Hints, and by a comparing them with the like Insinuations elsewhere to be found, must be supposed to be at a mighty Loss, in Comparison of the Christians then at *Philippi*, who were fully acquainted with the Apostle's Thoughts on all the Subjects, which he rather hints than explains to us. So that none of our Commentators or Criticks, ought to be blam'd, tho they have all, as I humbly conceiv'd, fallen short of finding out the Apostle's main Scope and Meaning: For if Men do their best, they ought to be praised, instead of being reflected upon. For, if a thoughtful and learned Man should have a peculiar Notion, which he looks upon to be of great Importance and general Use; and should, as such, communicate it, with his Reasons for it, to a Company of select Friends, many of which should be convinced, and be of his Mind, whilst others remained of a different Sentiment, or at least continued in some Suspence and Doubt this way; and if this learned Man should afterward think fit to write a joynt Letter to those to whom he communicated his Opinion, giving them some Hints thereof, and shewing that he was of the same Mind still; but modestly insinuating, that he did not look upon his Opinion as absolutely necessary to Salvation, and that therefore he hop'd, that those that differ'd from him in this particular, would bear with him, as he did with them, and agree to mind the same things, wherein they and he were of one Mind: Now, I say, if, some Ages after the Death of this Man and his Friends, this Letter of his were publish'd to the World: It must needs be very puzzling to those that were solicitous to know what this important Opinion was, from which, notwithstanding some of his best Friends did dissent, tho they were fully instructed in the Matter, from so great a Man. Now, that this is plainly the State of

this

of Christians.

this Affair, in relation to the *Philippians* of old, and us now, will be plain beyond Controversy, by what I have to say in the sequel of this Discourse. And then I shall leave it to your selves to judge, whether I have not, (thro' the Goodness of God inlightning me, and blessing my Inquiries this way) found out the *true Key*, to unlock the Apostle's Meaning; which I humbly conceive no Commentator or Expositor ever did before me. Therefore to proceed;

The Apostle, after his resolving to recapitulate the Sum of what he had preached to the *Philippian* Church, *ver. 1.* goes on with this Work from *ver. 2.* to the end of this 3^d Chapter. Now to trace this Discourse and its Design, I shall not disjoint the Apostle's Words, (after the old logical Method of many Divines) by casting the Words into a dry and arbitrary *Analitical* Scheme: But I shall trace the natural Epistolary Way of the Apostle, by which he insensibly slides from one Point to another, jointing or grafting one thing into another. And by this Method, I hope to let in your Thoughts to see, as it were, the very Springs and Movements of the Apostle's Soul, in laying before the *Philippians* his Sentiments and Practice, as far as the Words can be trac'd by me, as to their Meaning and Design.

And, in the *first* Place, he exhorts them to be upon their Guard, against the carnal and imbitter'd Jews, who were at that time the worst Enemies, that Christianity had in the World. *Beware*, says he, *of Dogs*, *beware of Evil-Workers*, *beware of the Concision*. He calls them *Dogs*, because of their bitter Reflections and Blasphemies against the Truth, comparing them thus to bitter and spiteful *barking Dogs*. He calls them *Evil-workers*, as well as *Evil-speakers*, because of their violent Attempts against Christians. He calls them and their Religion, by the Sarcastical Title of *the Concision*, instead of the Circumcision; because they cut off themselves from Christ, by preaching up Circumcision, as absolutely necessary to Justification and Salvation; which was diametrically opposite to *Paul's* Doctrine, as we see, *Gal.*

5. 2, 3. Now, as a Reason, why he call'd the Jews by that irritating and contemptuous Word *the Concision*; he adds, *ver. 3. For we are the Circumcision (i. e. in the true spiritual Sense) who worship God in the Spirit, and rejoice in Jesus Christ, and have no confidence in the Flesh; (as if bare Externals could save us.)*

And here the Apostle takes occasion to shew, that, seeing the Jews valued themselves so much upon their external Jewish Privileges, he was equal with any of them all, this way. Therefore he says, *ver. 4, 5, 6. That if these things were to be relied upon, I might also have Confidence in the Flesh. For, says he, If any other Man thinketh, that he hath whereof to trust in the Flesh; I have more Reason to do so than many others. For I was circumcised the eighth Day, of the Stock of Israel (my Parents and Ancestors being all true Israelites, without any Gentile Mixture) of the Tribe of Benjamin (honoured above all the Tribes, excepting Judah only, for adhering to David's Family and the true Worship of God, against Jeroboam and his Idolatry, and for its being returned intire, together with Judah, to their own Land,) an Hebrew of the Hebrews (both by Nation and Language;) concerning Zeal, persecuting the Church, (in the Days of my Ignorance, even as they, but more wilfully and knowingly, do now, considering the further and more Publick Evidence given now to Religion;) touching the Righteousness, which is in the Law, blameless, (as being a Pharisee, and consequently of the strictest Sect of the Jews, both as to Principles, and a nice Observance of the Ceremonies and Customs of the Jews.)*

But, says he, *ver. 7. What things were Gain to me, (and might have raised me to the highest Dignity, Authority, Power, Esteem, and been the means of enriching me among the Jews,) those I accounted loss for Christ; (as soon as I came to be acquainted with him and his Truths.)* And thus the Apostle shews the vastly different Estimate, he now had of Judaism and Christianity, from what he had before, and how despicable the first was,

was, and indeed all things in this World besides, in Comparison of the latter.

The Apostle prosecutes the same thing, and enlarges upon it, *ver. 8.* wherein there are five Particulars observable; 1. The Universality of this Contempt of terrene things, of whatever sort, in comparison of Christianity; *Yea — and I count all things but Loss, &c.* 2. The Reason of this Contempt, or the thing, in comparison whereof, he had so contemptible an Opinion of all other things; specified in these Words, *for the Excellency of Christ Jesus.* 3. The principal Idea that Paul fixes upon, as to Christ, which render'd the Knowledge of him so very excellent above all things besides; express'd in these Words: *Christ Jesus my Lord.* For as *Christ* denotes him to be the Promised Messiah, and as the superadding the Name *Jesus* denotes the end of his Office, as such, *viz.* that he was to save his People from their Sins, both as to the Guilt, Prevalence, Corruption, and the Consequents and Effects thereof: So Paul's peculiar Appropriation of this Saviour to himself, when he could thus say, *my Lord*, did eminently endear Christ and Christianity to him: 4. The Proof, which he gives of the Verity of this his Estimate; which is twofold, *viz. Verbal, yea doubtless, &c.* and *Real*, taken from uncontested matter of Fact; which he relates in these words: *For whom I have suffered the Loss of all things, and do count them but Dung;* as if he had said, and now that I have lost all these things, I cannot say I have lost any thing (so low is their Estimate with me) unless the Loss of what I esteem to be no better than Dung be accounted a Loss. 5. The Scope and End, or Ends, that the Apostle has in View and Prospect, both in this his Estimate, and in his Acting and Suffering accordingly, *viz. that I may win Christ, and that I may be found in him, &c.* But the latter of these Expressions belonging to the 9th Verse, and what is contained therein; I take the former only to be that General, that includes his Scope, as he design'd to express it in the General; and that the following Verses contain a particular Explication

tion thereof, and Enlargement thereupon. *To win Christ* therefore, I take to be a General Expression, of a vast Extent, which denotes the utmost acquisition of him, and the being the most universally enrich'd by him, from the time of our first believing in him, to that of our injoying him for Eternity : For thus the Apostle, when he says, *ἵνα χερσὶν κερδύσω*, that I may be enrich'd by acquiring Christ, opposes him to all other things, which he lost for him, and reckon'd but loss, in comparison of him ; and by this he represents himself, as the wise Merchant was represented by Christ, *Matth. 13. 45, 46.* (upon which Parable Paul's Words are a just Comment) who, after he had long traded in seeking after imaginary Pearls, tho he then reckon'd them goodly ones ; having at last found the true Pearl of Price, *i. e.* known wherein Man's real Good did stand, did readily part with all his formerly admired good Things, in order to be truly possess'd of the true felicitating Good.

But now, the Apostle having given a general Hint of his great *Scope* and *End*, proceeds to explain his Meaning, by shewing what the things were, which were wrap'd up in this short but substantial Hint. And this he does, by branching forth the meaning of this Expression, *to win Christ*, in a Gradation of three things. The *1st* of which denotes his Concern to lay a sure Foundation, *ver. 9.* The *2d* denotes a gradual Progress, in raising a proper Superstructure upon that Foundation, when once laid, *ver. 10.* And the *3d* denotes the End of both, *viz.* the actual Attainment of that Happiness, that he propos'd to himself, upon the happy finishing of both these, *ver. 11.* So that we have here compleat Happiness represented to us as begun in the *1st*, carried on in the *2d*, and compleated in the *3d* and last. And it is my Design to treat of all these here before you ; so as succinctly to explain the *two first*, in order to enlarge upon the *last*, as being the Key, when understood, of unriddling the Apostle's meaning perfectly, in what he runs upon in this Chapter,

ter, and particularly in that part of it that follows the 11th Verse.

The 1st Thing, which the Apostle aims at, in order to be truly happy, is the beginning well, or the founding securely upon the true Gospel-Foundation. Thus the Apostle was concerned, *ver. 9. To be found in Christ, not having (says he) my own Righteousness, which is of the Law, but that which is thro' the Faith of Christ, the Righteousness which is of God by Faith.*

And here, seeing this Expression has been so often quoted and explain'd by those, that either did not or would not understand its meaning, it is but just, that I should set it in its proper light; and the rather that I have heard it my self so frequently quoted amiss, as to the very words, as if *Paul* had opposed the *imputed Righteousness of Christ*, (whereas we neither read the Word *Imputed* here, nor yet the Phrase, *the Righteousness of Christ*) to his former *Righteousness* which he trusted in; which has been explained so, as if by his *own Righteousness, which was according to the Law*, he meant not the *Jewish Religion and Righteousness which stood in a Conformity to the Law of Moses*, (tho he himself tells us, in the preceding Verses, that he meant this and this only) but the *antiquated Law of perfect Innocence* made with our first Parents before the Fall; as if *Paul*, when a Jew and Pharisee by Profession, had ever dream'd to be saved by the *Merit of a sinless Conformity to the Law of Perfection*, which is commonly, tho unscripturally, called the *Covenant of Works*; when it is plain, that he only thought to be sav'd by a strict Conformity to the *Mosaical or Jewish Religion and Law*, without any regard to *Christianity*, nay and in opposition to it: Whereas upon his being illuminated to know *Christ and Christianity*, (which he own'd now to be the Completion of the *Jewish Religion*) he disclaim'd the *Jewish Religion and legal Righteousness* as imperfect, and betook himself intirely to *Christ and Christianity*, and the *Righteousness* reveal'd in the Gospel. See Dr.

Dr. Whisby in his Note upon this place, and what he says upon Rom. 1. 17.

But, in order to our clearer understanding this Place, I shall not grudge a little pains in explaining these *four things*, which are all that the Apostle's Words run upon and contain; viz. 1. The Import of the Expression, *to be found in Christ*. 2. The two sorts of Righteousness which he distinguishes one from another, and which he opposeth one to another, under these Characteristical Designations, viz. *his own Righteousness, and the Righteousness which is of God*. 3. The Description which he gives of both these; when he calls the *first*, that Righteousness *which is en vour of the Law*, or which ariseth from the Law, and stands in a Conformity to it, and which he opposeth to the *second* Righteousness, viz. the Righteousness which is of God; which he describes so, as to tell us, that it is *thro' the Faith of Christ*, and *is of God*, and that *by Faith*; which *three Characters* are connected together so, as to make up *one only* in the General, tho each of them has a peculiar Force in it, as we shall soon see. 4. The different Estimate which the Apostle has of these, and the different respect he has to them; seeing he disclaimeth the *first*, when he says, *not having, &c.* and is solicitous to be thoroughly possessed of the *other*, when he adds, *but that which is, &c.*

Now, as to the *1st* of these, viz. *to be found in Christ*. It may not unjustly be supposed to denote, in a General Sense, the same thing as the former, viz. *to win Christ*. But yet, even upon this Supposition, there is this Difference; that, whereas the Phrase, *to win Christ*, does respect the *End*; this Phrase *to be found in Christ*, bears a reference to the *Means* which tend to the attainment of that End. Now whereas there are *two Phrases* made use of in the New Testament, viz. *Our being in Christ*, and *Christ's being in us*: It is proper that I should say this of them; that they are equivalent Phrases, and of the same importance, in the main; the one of them ever denoting, or supposing the other. For, 1. We are said *to be in Christ*; when, having been

so assisted by Grace, in our devoting our selves to God and Christ, as to be truly united to him by Faith and Love, we act likewise so, as to bring forth Fruit to his Praise, walking thus, in the main, as he also walked. And, 2. Christ is said to be in us, when, as *Paul* says, *Phil. 2. 5. The same mind is in us, which was in Christ Jesus, i. e.* When Religion becomes the internal governing Principle of our Hearts, and when we act, by the Gospel-Rule, and for the same Ends which he acted for. So that for the Apostle to desire and endeavour, in order to win Christ, to act so, as to be found in Christ, is the same thing as to desire, to be so thoroughly united to Christ in Principle and Design, and to be so enabled to walk as to adorn the Gospel, and thus to be useful to the best of Interests, as to attain at length to the full Reward of a faithful Servant, in the compleat and perpetual Enjoyment of his Lord and Master.

As for the 2d thing; it is plain from the whole of the Context, (1.) That by his *own Righeousness* he must mean, in the first place, the very same *Righteousness*, which he had told us before, he was so fond of; when a Jew and Pharisee; being then, as he says, *ver. 6. Blameless as to the Law of Moses*. But, in a secondary or consequential Sense, we may justly say, that any sort of imperfect Righteousness, which is short of Gospel-Righteousness, if trusted to, is disclaimed here, by this Expression; such as Knowledge, Learning, Orthodoxy, Justice, Charitableness, &c. For every such Righteousness may be said to be of the Law, according to the Letter; tho it reach not the full Design thereof, as to its spiritual import and meaning, which is to found on Christ; the Law of *Moses* being that to Men, during the Minority of the Church of the Old Testament, that *παιδαγωγός*, a Pedagogue, or Preceptor, or Tutor, is to young Lads that go to a Grammar School, viz. to fit them for the higher Academy of Christianity and Christ the chief Doctor thereof; as the Apostle tells us, *Gal. 3. 24.* — To this home-spun *Righeousness*

ness of his own; therefore, (2.) Paul opposes the Righteousness of the Gospel, which, by way of Eminence, he justly calls the Righteousness of God; as having God for its Author, its Institutor, its Purchaser, its Rule, and its ultimate End.

3dly. As for the Description which he gives of these two sorts of Righteousness; (1.) The Account given of the first is this; That it is a Righteousness, which is of (or from, or according to) the Law. And what that Law is, we have already said. But they that desire to know more, may consult Rom. 3. 20. Gal. 3. 10, &c. with many other places. (2.) And as for the other sort of Righteousness, I need but cite Rom. 3. 21, 22. in order to clear it up. Where the Apostle says, *But now the Righteousness of God, without the Law, is manifest, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets, even the Righteousness of God, which is by the Faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all that believe, for there is no difference.* For this one place unfolds all the force of the threefold Character of this Righteousness; viz. 1. That it is, more eminently, than any sort of Religion or Righteousness, that ever was before, the Righteousness of God; 2. That this Righteousness is manifest in, or thro' the Gospel, or the Christian Faith, or as the Apostle here words it in the Epistle to the Philippians, thro' the Faith of Christ; which, as it is in the Citation mentioned, is said to be witnessed unto by the Law and the Prophets, to be the Righteousness of God without the Law of Moses, and therefore the Gospel-Righteousness: For lest any Doubt, this way, should remain, it is immediately added, that it is the Righteousness of God, which is by the Faith of Jesus Christ, unto all and upon all, whether Jews or Gentiles. But then, 3. It is also said to be upon all them that believe; which answers to the third part of the Character of this Righteousness in our Text, viz. That it is by Faith: For, as it is revealed by Faith, or by the Gospel, so it is to be received by Faith also. And thus the Apostle says, Rom. 1. 17. That the Righteousness of God is revealed by Faith to Faith; which,

which, according to the Greek, runs thus; *the Righteousness of God, which is by Faith* (or stands in Faith) *is revealed to beget Faith in Men*, (or is revealed in order to be received by Faith.) And therefore it is added in the same Place; *The Just shall live by his Faith*, i. e. in Christ and his Promises, so as to have this Faith to be a Principle to him of Righteousness and Obedience.

And now, as to the 4th Particular, it is easie to see, why the Apostle disclaimeth the *first* sort of Righteousness, and why he is so concerned to have the *latter*. For, (1.) as to his own Righteousness, he could not but disclaim that, which was now become inconsistent with the Gospel; as *Judaism* was then, in his Eyes, with *Christianity*; and, upon the Account whereof, he had lamented the Case of his Country-men the *Jews*, in the same Epistle to the *Romans*, in almost the same Words as here; as we see, *Rom. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4*. Brethren, my Heart's Desire and Prayer to God, for Israel, is, that they might be saved. For I bear them Record, that they have a Zeal for God, (as he himself had before his being acquainted with Christianity,) but not according to Knowledge. For they, being ignorant of the Righteousness of God (revealed in the Gospel) and going about to establish their own Righteousness, (*viz.* Judaical Righteousness, which stood in a Conformity to the Law of Moses,) have not submitted themselves to the Righteousness of God: for Christ is the end of the Law for Righteousness, to every one that believeth. Now here are the very Phrases of our Text again, *viz.* the Jews own Righteousness, and the Righteousness of God, &c. But not a Syllable is there of Christ's Righteousness, nor of Imputation in all this. Which, I say, not to reflect upon good Men, or their Notions this way, but only to caution them not to censure those that adhere more closely to the Scripture Phraseology than they do, and consequently may be supposed to understand its Sense better, as well as to judge of its Truths more impartially. For I have always observ'd, in all Parties, without so much as one Exception; that the most ignorant selfish,

selfish, and greatest Party-Men, make the most Noise, and run on the fastest, and the most furiously, in censuring, and even damning those that differ from them; tho this be commonly only upon the Account of the Modes of speaking. But, to return. As the Apostle renounced his own *Judaical Righteousness*: So (2.) He evidenceth his Concern, *to be found in Christ, having the Righteousness of God*, i. e. he is concerned to attain to the New Testament-Righteousness, or to be saved in the Gospel-way. For Christ's *Active and Passive Obedience*, by which he has merited Salvation for all that will accept of it upon Gospel-Terms, is that only, for the sake of which those that believe are saved: For, as by the Offence of one, Judgment came upon all Men to Condemnation; even so, by the Righteousness of one, the free Gift (*viz.* the Gospel-Revelation, Offer and Promise) came upon all Men (in case they believe) unto Justification of Life, &c. Rom. 5. 18, 19. Now, I think, all good Men, of all Sides and Parties, do agree, that Christ's Merits are the only meritorious Cause of our Justification and Salvation; and that we are justified, consequently, by the Righteousness of Christ, or the Righteousness of God, and by no human Righteousness whatsoever: And if this be call'd, *Christ's Righteousness imputed*, I do as readily own the thing as any Man, disowning and disclaiming all Self-Righteousness, in the same manner as Paul did, when he says, Rom. 11. 16. that we are saved by Grace; and that if it be by Grace, then it is no more of Works, otherwise Grace is no more Grace, &c. tho I pretend not to understand, that *Christ's Merits*, or *Christ's Righteousness*, can thus be transferred to another, so as to be imputed to him, either in a scriptural Sense, or indeed in common Sense. For, if by being imputed, we mean reputed, i. e. judged by God, that we were the Persons that obeyed, suffered and merited; it is equally blasphemous and nonsensical. And, if by imputed, we mean no more than this, that we receive the Benefit of *Christ's Merits and Righteousness*, when we believe, as really

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really as if we had acted, suffered and merited our selves ; it is certainly true : But then, it must be said, that the Word *Imputation* is used very improperly, in this Sense : Nay, I will say likewise, (b) that it is never used, in this Sense, in Scripture. But, as I shall never quarrel about Words, tho improperly used, where Truth is secur'd, so if it please God that I live I shall have occasion to discuss this Matter further in its proper Place. To return therefore, I say this, that the Sum of all I have said upon this Verse, amounts to this Proposition, when drawn *ab Hypothesi ad Thesis*, from Paul's State, to that of all Christians, viz. " That whosoever is heartily and thorowly concerned " to win him, and is therefore desirous to get to be ac- " quitted, approved and saved, in the great Day of " Christ's Appearance ; must not be contented with, " nor trust in a bare external *Righteousness of his own*, " tho never so exactly agreeable to the Law of God ; " but must make it his Business to be found in Christ, ha- " ving the *Righteousness, which is thro' the Faith of Christ*, " even the *Righteousness, which is of God, by Faith*. The Sense of which Phrases can, I think, be obscure to none, that have consider'd what I have said. So that I hope, I may go on safely now to the next Head.

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(b) I desire that the Reader, who may perhaps wonder at my saying so, would be pleas'd to consider, the proper Meaning of the Original Greek Word, λογίζεσθαι, and the Scope and Sense of this Word, in all those Places where it is translated to impute in our Version, as also the Equivalent Hebrew Word, which is likewise so rendred by our Translators, viz. Lev. 7. 18. Chap. 17. 14. 1 Sam. 22. 15. 2 Sam. 19. 19. Psal. 32. 2. Hab. 1. 11. But seeing all the Stress of the Controversy relates to the Sense of those Places, where this Word is rendred either to impute, (which I think are these only, viz. Rom. 4. 6, 8, 11, 22, 23, 24. Chap. 5. 13. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Jam. 2. 23.) or otherwise, where it is rendred by Words of an Equivalent Sense and Meaning to that of Imputation : For thus we find, that the same Word, that is rendred to impute in the Places mention'd, and, I think, in no other, is translated, Rom.

The II. Thing which the Apostle aim'd at, in order to reach his End, and as consequential upon the former, was to proceed well, after he had once set out well on his heavenly Journey. And this he expresseth in these Words, ver. 10. *That I may know him, and the Power of his Resurrection, and the Fellowship of his Sufferings, being made conformable unto his Death.* Where we have two things to consider.

1. The General Account which he gives of this, viz. *τὸ γινῶσκει αὐτόν*, that I may know him, i. e. so as to be further and better acquainted with him. By which,

4. 3. counted unto, ver. 4. reckoned, ver. 5. counted for, ver. 9. reckoned to, ver. 10. reckoned, and Gal. 3. 8. accounted. I have thus enumerated all the Places, where this Word occurs, in such a Sense, as to be capable to be thus translated: In none of which I can find any Foundation for such a Mystical Sense of the Word, as has not only been reckon'd the only one by some, but magnified to that degree, as if the All of Religion stood in it, and as if they were all Hereticks, that could not see this. And I hope none, that calls himself a Scholar and Divine, can be ignorant that the Verb λογίζομαι is most commonly used, both by Greek Authors, and by the sacred Penmen, in such a Sense, as is incapable to be rendered to impute. For it does most commonly signify, to reason, to esteem, to think, to reckon, and to repute. For which, see Mark 11. 31. & Chap. 15. 28. Luke 22. 37. Acts 19. 27. Rom. 2. 3, 26. Chap. 3. 28. Chap. 6. 11. Chap. 8. 18, 36. Chap. 9. 8, Chap. 14. 14. 1 Cor. 4. 1. Chap. 13. 5. 2 Cor. 3. 15. Chap. 10. 2, 7, 11. Chap. 12. 6. Phil. 3. 13. Chap. 4. 8. 2 Tim. 4. 16. Heb. 11. 19. 2 Pet. 5. 12. Now if the Reader will consider all these things, and lay them judiciously together, he will find, that in those few Places, where our Translators thought fit to render the Original Word, by the English Word to impute, or its Equivalent Terms, to reckon, to count, or to account; the Sense of those several Texts, with the Scope of the Contexts, will ever direct us to understand them as denoting no more, but this, viz. to repute; and therefore, consequently God, who repute and reckons infallibly, can never repute that to belong to another, which was done by Christ only. When therefore Abraham believed God, his Faith (the originally God's Work and Gift) is said to be reckoned to him for Righteousness, i. e. reputed his own Act, as formally it certainly was. I have the rather taken notice of these things, because the unwary Expositions and enlargements of some good Men, as to their Notion of the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness, has oftner than once, in the Compass of the last Age, given rise to endless Antinomian Errors.

no doubt, he means a farther Measure, both of Theoretical and Practical Knowledge.

2. The *special Account* which he gives of this, viz. in what Respects he was chiefly concerned to know Christ further than he had yet attained to do ; where there are two Particulars specified.

1. He desires to know Christ farther, as to *the Power of his Resurrection*. Concerning which, let me premise this, that the Stress of our Salvation, as to the Hope of future Happiness, to be compleatly enjoyed, depends principally upon the Article of the Resurrection ; as we must own, if we consult, *Rom. 8. 34. & 1 Cor. 15. 14, 17, &c.* Now, having premised this, let me observe, (1.) That by *the Power of Christ's Resurrection*, which Paul desir'd to know, he must mean, *That Power that was exerted by him, in his raising himself from the Dead, the third Day after his Death ; and that Power, that he has now acquired, by that Act, and with which he is possessed, since his Resurrection, as Loganthropos ; by which he is able, not only to bestow eternal Life, and all manner of Blessings upon his People, but also to raise others from the Dead, when and how he thinks fit.* And now, as I desire that every Word of this Proposition may be distinctly consider'd ; so I would have it observed more particularly, That the Apostle insinuates a Desire to know or experience Christ's Power, in raising him from the Dead, in such a manner, as he was not yet ascertain'd of ; seeing he only expresseth a Desire and Concern to attain this. And therefore, (2.) By his Concern, to know this Power of Christ's Resurrection, we must, of Necessity, understand ; that he was solicitous to be raised, in some such manner, by Christ, as he himself was raised. Which will be manifest to every one that will allow himself to think over, impartially, what I shall say, when I come to explain the next Verse ; towards the understanding whereof, all I have been upon, is no more than an *Introduction*. Now, so earnest is the Apostle to attain thus to know the Power of Christ's Resurrection ; that he is willing to do
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any thing, and endure any thing, rather than to fall short of it.

And therefore, 2. He immediately adds, that he was willing, in order to this End, to know also the Fellowship of Christ's Sufferings, even so as to be made conformable unto his Death. For, as he says, Rom. 6. 5. *If we be planted together in the Likeness of his Death, we shall be planted also in the Likeness of his Resurrection; which Words have, as I conceive, a further Look, than as they are usually explain'd, in a Spiritual Sense, of a Death to Sin, and Resurrection to Righteousness; tho I am far from excluding that Sense. But the Apostle does certainly speak, in the Strain, (wherein I have explained this Text, which we have now before us, in ver. 10.) Rom. 8. 17. when he does not only say, If we be Children, then Heirs, Heirs of God, and Joynt-Heirs with Christ; but adds immediately, If so be we suffer for him, that we may be also glorified together. For that he respects a special Resurrection, and a special Reward, the following Part of the Chapter does sufficiently insinuate; particularly these Words, ver. 19. The Manifestations of the Sons of God; and these, ver. 21. of the rational Creature's being delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God; and these Words, ver. 23. where the Apostle says, that he, and other good Men, groaned within themselves, waiting for *υιοθεσια*, the Adoption, that is, says he, the Redemption of the Body. And, I think, the same Apostle insinuates this Truth, 2 Tim. 2. 11, 12. *If we die with him, (i. e. in a violent way of Martyrdom) we shall also live with him, (i. e. be raised, in some way that shall bear a Likeness to his Resurrection, as he says, Rom. 6. 5.) If we suffer (as Christ did) we shall also reign with him, (at the Beginning of the Millennium:)* (but) *If (thro' Persecutions) we deny him, he also will deny us, (as he says himself, Matth. 10. 23.)* And I cannot but think, that the Apostle Peter was also apprized of this Notion of the Apostle Paul, viz. that there was to be a special Resurrection of the more Eminent Saints,*

Saints, at the beginning of the Millennium, when he says, 1 Epist. 2. 12, 13, 14. Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery Tryal, as tho some strange thing happened unto you. But rejoyce, in as much as you are Partakers of Christ's Sufferings (i. e. call'd to be conformed to him, as to the Painfulness and Reproach of his Sufferings and Death,) that so when his Glory (or he himself as the Shechinah or Glory of God) shall be revealed afterwards (viz. in the more flourishing State of the Church on Earth, during the Millennium;) Ye may be glad also with exceeding Joy, (viz. by reason of your being then privileg'd to be peculiarly rais'd from the Dead, to enjoy Christ in Glory.) If then ye be reproached for the Name of Christ, happy are ye; for the Spirit of Glory (i. e. of Christ the Shechinah) and of God (the Father) resteth upon you, &c. (i. e. you have this way the Spirit given as a Pledge of your future happy Resurrection and Glory.)

Now, if these Expositions of the scriptural Passages, quoted here, do appear strange at first View, as probably they will to many; I humbly beg, that my Readers would be so favourable, as to suspend their passing any definitive Sentence as yet, in reference to this Notion; and so kind, as to carry it along with them, in their own Minds, without either assenting to it, or dissenting from it, until first they have understood what I have to say, by way of Proof, for it. And, in hope of obtaining this reasonable Request;

I proceed now to the III^d Thing, viz. To the great End and Scope, which Paul had in view; and in a Reference to which the two former Heads come under the Consideration of the Means only, which he proposes to use, in order to reach this End.

I come therefore now, after premising some Account of the preceding Part of the Apostle's Discourse, by way of Preliminary; to treat distinctly of this Subject, (which hitherto I have only touched upon incidentally and by the by,) as we have it spoken of, in

the *Eleventh Verse*; which is the *main Text*, that I propose, not only to speak from; but to discourse of, in this Place. After which, I shall proceed, but more briefly, to explain the remaining Part of the Apostle's Discourse, in the Sequel of this Chapter.

Philip. Chap. III. ver. 11.

The Words, in the Original, are these following.

Εἰ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἑξαναστάσιν τῶν νεκρῶν.

Which our Translators render, after this manner,

If, by any means, I might attain to the Resurrection of the Dead.

Strange Words! Especially if we consider what the Apostle immediately adds, ver. 12, &c.

Not, as tho I had already attained, ——— But I follow after, if that I may apprehended, &c.

Indeed, my Friends, I must tell you, that I was exceeding puzzled, for a considerable time, what to make of these Words of the Apostle Paul. I consulted all the best Expositors, and the most famous Criticks, without receiving any Satisfaction, or so much as a just hint of that which the Apostle had in his Eye here; which, in ver. 14. he calls τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως, the Prize of the High Calling of God, in Christ; which he represents to himself, in Allusion to the Olympick, and other Grecian Solemnities, and particularly the Races there; upon which Occasions a βραβεῖον, i. e. a Prize or Garland used to be hung up, upon a σκόπεο, a Mark, at the End of the Race, which was conspicuous even at a Distance, and which the Racers had in View, more and more, as they drew nearer it, until

until the Prize it self came to be seen, which was bestowed upon him that reach'd the Mark first.

The Question therefore, with me, which no Author could satisfie me in, was; *What this βραβεῖον could mean?* For if by the σκόπη the Apostle meant Happiness or Perfection, in general, he must be supposed to mean, by the βραβεῖον, some appropriate and peculiar Reward, which many, tho they run well to the Mark, fell short of: For as he says elsewhere, *Tho many run, yet one only obtain'd the Prize.* But that which increas'd the Difficulty, yet more, was this; that the Apostle does plainly tell us, that he had no particular Certainty or Assurance of his obtaining this *special Prize*; but that he apprehended rather, that unless he was very careful, he might possibly fall short of it. For he represents it as attainable indeed, but as attainable no other way but by great Diligence, eminent Faithfulness to Christ, and extraordinary Usefulness to the World and Church. And yet, at the same time, his Idea of this *peculiar and glorious Prize* is so vast, that he thinks all the Services he could do, and all the Sufferings he could undergo, in promoting and propagating Christianity, were all too little, in Comparison of this *Reward*, which was to be appropriated to none but the first Christian Worthies, and the most Eminent Saints and Martyrs. And it still tends to increase the Difficulty; That the Apostle, notwithstanding of his being fully certain, that such a special Reward was to be attained; yet did not look upon this as such an Article of Christian Faith, as was to be believed as a thing absolutely necessary to Salvation. And therefore, tho he himself believed, and had taught it in the *Philippian Church*: Yet, as he taught it only, as his own Opinion, there being, as yet, no universal Revelation thereof to the Church; so we find, that there were several of the Christian *Philippians*, that were of another Opinion, and *otherwise minded*, ver. 15. Nor does the Apostle challenge them upon this Account, but prophetically tells them, that *God would afterwards*

wards reveal this to the Church himself; which Paul had only commission to speak of as from himself; the Publication thereof, as a Truth (revealed so to the Church, as to be enjoined upon us, in order to be believed) being reserved for the Apostle John, as we shall quickly see. In the mean time therefore Paul desires, that, seeing both they and he were agreed in the Belief of the last and general Resurrection, they might walk accordingly, viz. with due regard to that whereunto they had already attained; for, tho the peculiar Resurrection, which he had in View, was, as yet, no part of the Christian Creed, yet the General Resurrection and Christ's coming to judge Men and Angels, were received and approved Articles thereof. And this is the Reason, why he winds up this Chapter and Discourse, with a Repetition of these great Articles of Faith, ver. 20, 21.

Hence it is plain, that what the Apostle calls *βραβεὶν τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως*, the Prize of the High Calling, in ver. 14. is that which he calls the Resurrection of the Dead, in ver. 11. And that consequently, this Resurrection cannot be the general Resurrection, but a special one, antecedent to it; which is to be the appropriate Reward only of a few, (speaking in a comparative Sense) and those the most eminent of the Saints; and which the Apostle represents as inclusive of a higher Reward, than others shall ever share in, tho, at last, they come to be raised also to Life Everlasting.

And thus I came to attain to form some tolerable Notion of the Apostle's Meaning. For I reason'd thus with my self. When Paul says, that his great Concern was, to use his utmost Endeavours, to see, *if by any Means, he might attain to the Resurrection of the Dead*; surely, (1.) He could never be guilty of such a blank Sense, as to mean no more than this, *if by any means I might obtain to rise to Life eternal at the last day*: Not as if I had already attained, &c. For what News had it been to tell the Philippians, that he had not as yet got to Heaven. When therefore our Divines say, that the Apostle means this only, that *he could never be too sure of getting*

getting to Glory; they say what is very accommodable to dull and languid Christians: But they forget the Apostle's Character and Attainments, and represent him as speaking weakly and insipidly, and indeed inconsistently with himself. (2.) And, as Paul could never be supposed to speak, in this dull and lank manner; so I consider'd, that it was impossible, that he could be under any Doubt of a Resurrection of the Dead, in general; who had ever asserted that there was to be a Resurrection of all Men, both of the Just and Unjust. For this was one main Article insisted on by him, both in his Sermons and Writings, as we see not only here, ver. 20, 21. but in the 15th Chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, throughout the whole Chapter; as also, Acts 17. 18. Chap. 23. 6. Chap. 24. 15, 21. 2 Tim. 2. 18. And therefore this cannot possibly be the Sense; If by any means I might attain to rise from the Dead, at the last Day. (3.) And I consider'd withall that the Apostle could not be supposed, in reason, to mean, that he was concerned to attain to a full Certainty and Assurance, as to his being raised in Glory, and to Eternal Life. For he had attained this already, in so full and compleat a Sense, as that it is not conceivable, that he could be further assured this way, than he was already. For I defy any Man to tell me of any one Expression of his, but what breaths forth the Plerophory of Faith, and the fullest Confidence. Does he not glory in this, Rom. 8. 25, &c. that nothing could separate him from the Love, Service, and Enjoyment of Christ; and that he was satisfied, That he should be more than Conqueror, at last, thro' Christ who loved him. Whereas, by the way, more than Conqueror seems tacitly to look to the special Prize, or special Resurrection, which he speaks of here; as if, at that time, he had some fair Prospect of obtaining it. But that, he had full Assurance as to a future Happiness, without any Doubt or Hesitation that way, is evident from all his Writings. Hence he tells us that he long'd even almost to some Degree of Impatience, to exchange Mortality for Immortality, that,

by getting rid of the Body, he might get home to Christ, 2 Cor. 5. 1, 2, 3, &c. Nay, does not the Apostle say as much, in this very Epistle? Does he not tell us, chap. 1. ver. 21. that *for him to die would be gain?* And does he not, ver. 23. *desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which was far better, than to be here?* Nay, does he not here say as much as this, in the very same Breath, wherein he declares his concern to attain what he had not yet obtain'd the Certainty of? For he proposes this as one of the Means, towards reaching this End, viz. the dying a violent Death, in conformity with the Death of Christ; which he calls *a knowing Christ, as to the Fellowship of his Sufferings, by being made conformable unto his Death.* So that, when we have laid these things together, we may be assured that this can as little be supposed to be the Apostle's Sense here, in ver. 11. *If by any Means I might attain to rise, at the last Day, to eternal Life; or this, If by any Means I might attain to Assurance, that I shall rise to Life and Glory, when the General Resurrection comes.*

It being therefore certain, that none of these can possibly be the Apostle's Meaning; and it being equally certain, that the thing which he had in his Eye, was that which the Bulk even of good Men might fall short of, and which the Apostle himself had only the Hope of obtaining, but no Certainty or Assurance this way: I concluded, that the Apostle had his Eye fix'd upon *a peculiar Resurrection*, which was to be the *βραβεϊον* and Reward, not of all true Christians, but only of some of the most gallant and useful Saints and Martyrs; *which Resurrection*, I did suppose, must not only be long before the General Resurrection, but must also be supposed to include and take in the highest Reward of Glory and Happiness.

And I remember, that after I had imbib'd this Notion, I had occasion to propose it, at several times, to several Persons of great Learning and Judgment; who all agreed, at last, to approve of it so far,

far, as to grant me two Material Points; (1.) That none of the Opinions I mention'd before, could be, in reason, suppos'd to be that which *Paul* runs upon; (2.) That, by supposing my Notion to be true, the Apostle's Words and Reasoning came to be very clear and easy, both with respect to the Sense of every Word and Phrase, and the Connexion of the whole. And hence they concluded, that if I could prove the special Resurrection, I talk'd of, from Scripture, they should be ready to think that I had found the *only true Key*, to unlock this otherwise dark and mysterious Portion of Scripture. And, as this incited me to dive as deep as I could into this Point, so it occasion'd some of my learned Friends to take the like pains. One of whom fell upon a very peculiar Notion; which was this. He suppos'd, that the Apostle was of this Mind; "That he might, thro' Grace and Care, attain so high, as to be made an Exception from the Common Lot of Mortals, either by being translated, that he might not see Death, as *Enoch* and *Elias* were, or by being rais'd from the Grave, after he had been dead for a little time, by a singular Resurrection, such as that of *Christ* was. But, as all the Company reject-ed any Supposition of a *peculiar Translation*, since *Christ* himself dyed; as that which was inconsistent with the *Christian Scheme*: So some of the Company thought that such a *singular Resurrection*, was also the peculiar Property and Privilege of the *Messiah* only, and that even this Supposition did not agree with the *Christian Scheme* any more than the first. But, for my part, I could never admit any such Supposition; unless it could be shewed from Scripture, that the Apostle *Paul* had any ground to expect this, more than *Peter*, *James* or *John*, or the *Virgin Mary*. But besides I desired, that it might be considered, that the Apostle spoke of such a Resurrection, as was attainable by others, as well as by him, when he says, *ver. 15. Let therefore as many as are perfect be thus minded, &c.* The meaning of which, to me, is plainly this; *Let as many as are of the same Opinion with*

with me, be thus minded likewise as I am, viz. to act so, as they may also hope to attain to the first, special and most glorious Resurrection of the most Eminent Saints.

My Notion therefore, which is the only Key of ver. 11, 12, &c. is this; That the Apostle Paul did believe, that there would be a special Resurrection of the more eminent Servants of Christ, which would include a very peculiar Reward; and that this Resurrection would be long before the General and last Resurrection. And this is, I am confident, that very Resurrection, and Reward which he is so earnestly solicitous and concerned to partake of.

And I do humbly suppose, that this might be of the Number of those ἀγένητα ῥήματα, secret Words or Phrases, which it was not lawful for him to utter, (which the Apostle had revealed to himself only, 2 Cor. 12. 4, &c.) that is, as I understand his meaning (tho without limiting it to this Sense only) which the Apostle was forbidden, at present, to publish to the World, as an Article of Faith, but which he had Liberty to propose to Men as his own Opinion; it being reserved to John, to discover and publish it, in the Name of God, and as an Article of Faith, in its proper time and place, in the last Book of the Bible; as we shall quickly make it appear, that it is to be found there, in express words. But seeing the Apostle Paul had no such Commission, but only a Dispensation to publish it, as an Article of Opinion only; we need not wonder, that some of the Philippians were otherwise minded, as being like the Bereans, Acts 17. 11. who were resolved to believe the Apostles themselves no farther than they could demonstrate their Doctrine from the Scriptures of the Old Testament; which seeing Paul could not do, as to this Article, in such a manner as intirely to satisfy them; and seeing likewise he proposed it, as an Opinion only, and not as necessary to be believed, and concerning which he pretended not to have any Divine Commission: I say, these things being considered, we need not wonder, that some Philippians could not agree with him in Opinion, as to this matter; at the same time that

that others, from a vaster Esteem of the Apostle's Judgment, or from a deeper Penetration into his Reasoning, or from some peculiar Illumination of the Spirit, as to this Point, fell intirely in with his Notion. For I do suppose that the Apostle manag'd himself, in his Reasoning upon this Subject, much after the same manner, as he does elsewhere, in things that he proposed barely as a *Man*, and as far only as his Reason and Opinion might go, and not as an *Apostle*, speaking authoritatively and in the Name of God. An eminent Example of which we have, 1 Cor. 7. 25. Now concerning Virgins, I have no Commandment of the Lord: yet I give my Judgment, as one that have obtained Mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I suppose therefore that this is good, &c. So also he speaks, ver. 40. insinuating a Revelation; but pretending to no Authority to injoin the same to be believed by others; for both these are equally denoted, when he says, *But she is happier if she so abide, after my Judgment; and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.* And indeed I cannot but think, that the Apostle spoke of this Subject of the *first and special Resurrection*, to the *Philippians*, in this very strain; telling them, that he had no Commandment of God, to propose this to be believed; but that he gave his Judgment, as one that obtain'd Mercy to be faithful; insinuating this also modestly, that he had reason to think, that he had the Spirit of God, and knew the mind of Christ, in what he himself believed, tho he only propos'd it to their Reason and Meditation. However it deserves our Consideration, how wisely the Apostle words himself, that he might reach his main end, both as to those that were of his Opinion, and those that dissented from him; encouraging the one Party to continue in the like mind with him, and exhorting the other Party to agree with him and them, so as to strive likewise, if by any means they might attain, not only to be happy at last, but to reach unto as high degrees of Happiness as others. For tho they might have no such Notion, as he and some others had, of a *special Resurrection*, nor any Belief this way; yet their equal diligence

gence with his, might bring them to obtain that Privilege also; as it would certainly, whether they attain'd this or not, lay a Foundation of their being truly happy at last. And here, by the way, let us observe, how far different *Paul's* Spirit was, from the Spirit of some Modern Churches and imposing Church-men; nay how diametrically opposite these are. He, tho certain of this and such-like Truths, nay tho he had the Spirit of God with him, in what he said; yet did not, durst not, impose any thing upon Christians, either in point of Faith or Practice, for that very reason, that it was indifferent, and therefore to be left to Mens own liberty; as knowing that it was not in the Power of one, or all the Apostles, to require any thing either to be necessarily and universally believed by the Church, or practis'd in the Church; this being the unalienable Prerogative of Christ the Head of the Church (which he was never to give to any after him) to give Law to the Conscience. Put, to return;

I hope, by this time, you begin to think, that *this special Resurrection* is a probable Notion (for no Man in his Senses can question its possibility, seeing it is as easy for God to raise some Men sooner, as to raise all Men at last;) and that therefore, if I can but produce certain Proof for it, I may be supposed to do some considerable Service to Christianity and Christians; by bringing in new Light, not only to this memorable Discourse of *Paul*, but likewise to the whole of the Christian Scheme.

In order therefore to give you all the Satisfaction I can, in reference to this weighty Point, which I do, for my own part, look upon as an *Article of the Christian Faith*, tho a *secondary one*, and not *absolutely necessary to Salvation* as some others; (for I suppose every one knows, that every Article of Faith is not a fundamental and essential one, *E. G.* that it is an Article of Faith, but not a fundamental One, to believe, that *Paul* was an Apostle of the Gentiles; whereas to believe that *Jesus Christ* is the only Messiah, Saviour, Mediator,

or Redeemer, is altogether essential to Faith and Salvation:) I propose to discourse as distinctly and fully of this Subject, as I can ; and the rather, that it has never been properly treated of, or so much as understood before, even from the Times of the Apostles to this Day.

And in doing this, I intend to treat of it ; (1.) *Doctrinally* and largely ; and then, (2.) *Practically* and more briefly ; which *last* Consideration will lead me forward, to pursue the Thread of the Apostle's Discourse, in the Sequel of this Chapter.

(1.) I propose to treat of this Subject *Doctrinally*. And in doing this, I intend to proceed in this Method.

1. *To inquire into the Grounds that I go upon, in believing, that there will be such a special Resurrection: With which first and principal Inquiry, I shall have Occasion to interweave, what otherwise might have been considered as a second one, viz. What Foundation is laid in Scripture, by which we may attain to form a tolerable Idea of this.* And then, 2. I shall distinctly inquire, *when this Resurrection may be probably supposed to be.*

I. INQUIRY.

What are the Grounds or Reasons, from whence it can be collected, that there will be a special Resurrection of the most Eminent Saints, antecedent to the General One; so as to lay a just Foundation of our believing it, and of our forming a Genuin Conception of it, as a scriptural and revealed Truth?

In order to answer the End of this Inquiry, I intend to propose my Thoughts gradually to the World, by proceeding according to the following Steps.

1st. I desire it may be considered, that there has been already, *a special Resurrection of the more Eminent Saints of the Old Testament: So that it is very congruous to what has been done already, to suppose, that there will*

will also be a special Resurrection of the Eminent Saints of the New Testament.

Now, in order to prove the Antecedent, I shall adduce a plain, tho very short, historical Account, which is given us, *Matth. 27. 50, 51, 52, 53.* Ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν βράξας φωνὴ μεγάλην, ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα. Καὶ ἰδ' ὅς, τὸ κατὰ πέτασμα τῆς ναῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπὸ ἀνωθεν ἕως καίτω· καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐσεισθη, καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν· καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεῳχθῆσαν καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κοιμημένων· ἄλλων ἤλθον καὶ ἐξεληθόντες ἐκ τῶν μνημείων, μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ, ἐσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν πόλιν, καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς. Now *Jesus, crying again with a loud Voice, yielded up his Spirit. And behold the Vail (that parted the Holy Place from the most Holy) of the Temple, was rent in twain, from the Top to the Bottom, (see Heb. 10. 20.) and the Earth did quake, and the Rocks rent; and the Graves were opened; and many Bodies of Saints which slept, arose, (or were raised up;) and they going (or having gone) out of their Graves, after his own Resurrection was over, went into the Holy City, and appeared to many.*

Here there are Three memorable Things observable.

1. That just (c) as Christ breathed out his Soul, with a loud Voice; all Nature eccho'd it round, by Thunders and Earthquakes; and that so, as to own his conquering Death and Mortality, by his dying, and by rending the Rocks, Vaults, Sepulchers, and other Dormitories of the Dead, so that all Graves, of all sorts, were thrown wide open.

2. That yet none of the Dead arose at that time, tho all external Hinderances of their rising were removed: For it was necessary that Christ should first take Possession of *Hades*, or the Regions and State of the separate Souls. Which, when he had once done, he was then to demonstrate his intire Conquest over the Dead, both as to their Souls and Bodies; first by raising

(c) See this critically consider'd, in the 2d Volume, and 3d Book of *Christol. Chap. 3. Page 271.*

himself, and next by raising such a select Number of others, as he thought proper to raise up. And therefore it is expressly said here, (1.) That *Saints* were raised, and no others; (2.) That *many* *Saints* were raised; and (3.) That *they* came not forth out of their Graves, till *Christ's* own Resurrection was over: For it was necessary, that he, as Sovereign and Captain-General, should lead the Way, and be the first Fruits of them that slept, and the first Bringer back (or as our Version has it, the First-Born) from the Dead.

3. That the *many* *dead* *Saints*, which then arose, were not raised to live again on Earth, tho they were allowed to appear to *many* *select* *Witnesses*, in order to assure them of the Reality both of *Christ's* Resurrection and their own. This is plain from the Words of *Matthew*, who says not, that they went into the Holy City, (as *Jerusalem* is sometimes called, as in *Matt.* 4. 6.) to dwell there, or to converse with any, or all the People, but that they went into it so, as to appear to many. So that, as *Christ* appeared, now and then, to select *Witnesses*, during his 40 Days Abode on Earth; so did those *Saints* also, under the Conduct of *Christ*, during the same time, as I humbly think. For, as it is impossible to suppose that *Saints*, who had been used with the divine Converse of Paradise, and who were free from Sin, and made immortal, by *Christ's* raising them, could ever be supposed to be raised to Sin and Sorrow here, in order to die again: So it must be concluded to be equally certain, that they must be raised to be *Christ's* Attendants, when he ascended to Heaven, in order to be Monuments and *Witnesses* there of his having conquer'd *Death*, *Hades* and *Satan*; and of his taking upon him the Sovereignty over *Death*, and the invisible State and Country of separate Souls. And, if it was necessary, that *Christ* should rise before them from the Dead; so it was, as least, as necessary, that *Christ* should ascend first to Glory, and that they should follow him in thither, as his Train.

And

And indeed we have here a plain Account of the exact and literal Accomplishment of a very memorable Prediction; which we have, *Isa. 26. 19. Thy dead Men shall live: Together with my dead Body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the Dust; for thy Dew is as the Dew of Herbs, (that revive after a Winter's Death,) and the Earth shall cast out the Dead.*

And, as this Propheſie plainly points out the pre-
ciſe Time of this Reſurrection, viz. that it ſhould be,
when Chriſt's own Body ſhould be raiſed (for of no
other Body could it be ſaid, by a peculiar Appropriati-
on, that it was God's Body, or the Body of the Logos, the
God of Iſrael,) ſo we find, that Chriſt himſelf, a little
before his Sufferings, did expreſſly predict the ſame
thing, *John 5. 25. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you; the
Hour is coming, and now is, (i. e. is juſt about to take
Place,) that the Dead ſhall hear the Voice of the Son of
God, and they that hear it ſhall live.* Upon which
Words, Dr. *Whitby's* Obſervation deſerves to be exactly
conſidered. " That Chriſt, ſays he, ſpeaks here, not
" barely of a ſpiritual Reſurrection, is evident:
" (1.) Be-
" cauſe he ſpeaks of it as a Thing ſhortly fu-
" ture; whereas the ſpiritual Reſurrection was, in
" ſome, already paſt. (2.) Be-
" cauſe he promiſeth this
" Reſurrection, not to them that ſhould hear his Word,
" but ~~φωνη~~, his Voice. And that he ſpeaks of a proper
" Reſurrection, appears, (1.) From the Gradation he
" here makes, from the Reſurrection of ſome, to the
" Reſurrection of all, ver. 28, 29. viz. when he adds,
" Marvel not at this, (Reſurrection, which is to be
" ſo ſoon,) for the Hour (alſo) is coming, (viz. that of
" the laſt and general Reſurrection,) in which, (tho
" at ſeveral Periods thereof,) all that are in the Graves
" ſhall hear his Voice; and ſhall come forth, (tho at ſe-
" veral times, as I ſhall afterwards prove:) Thoſe that
" have done good, (if more eminent, firſt of all, but if
" leſs eminent, afterwards) unto the Reſurrection of
" Life; and then, they that have done evil (ſhall come
" forth, laſt of all) unto the Reſurrection of Damnation.
" (2.)

" (2.) Because he adds, that *they who hear, shall live*; " and that, because *the Son*, whose Voice they hear, " *hath Life in himself*, ver. 26. I therefore think, that " our Lord speaks of that Hour, when, he rising from " the Dead, many Bodies of the Saints arose with him, " Matth. 27. 52.

But, tho the Doctor and I are perfectly agreed in this Matter; yet I differ from him, when he says, in his Note on Matth. 27. 52. " My Conjecture is, that " they (who rose from the Dead) might be some of " those that believed in Jesus, (as old Simeon did,) and " died before his Resurrection, &c. For it is said, " that they went into the Holy City, and appeared to many; " whence it is probable, that they were Persons " known to them, to whom they did appear, and, if " so, they must be Men that lived in the Time of their " Knowledge. For, if the Doctor mean, as his Words seems to insinuate, that no others rose, but those that were Christ's Contemporaries, I must say it is a Conjecture indeed, but such a one, that carries no just Probability along with it. For (1.) seeing the Doctor owns, by what he cites from *Albo in Libro Ikarim*, Par. 4 c. 35. that the Jews believ'd, that, when their *Messiah* came, there should be a Resurrection of several pious Men; I know not why those pious Men should be confin'd to one Generation, more than to former ones. (2.) When he supposes, that they must be known to have been such and such Persons, he might have remembred, 1. That the Text says not, that they were known, or did discover what Persons they had been; but only, in the general, that they appeared to many; i. e. that they appeared, as the Angels us'd to do, with Majesty and Light, or in some such manner as discover'd them not to be the proper Inhabitants of this World; and that they did also give some Evidence and Indication, that they had formerly dwelt on Earth, but that they were now raised from the Dead, and allowed to appear to some select Men, as Witnesses of Christ's Resurrection, and of his Power in

in raising them. Besides, 2. It ought to be remembred, That, when Christ was transfigured upon the Mount, the three Apostles were illuminated, without being informed by Christ, (as the Circumstances of things, as I explain'd them in the *First Book of Christology*, gives us just Ground to conclude,) that the two Persons, that talk'd to him, were *Moses* and *Elias*. So that, in case Christ thought it proper, that any of the New-raisd Saints should be known to any of those to whom they appeared; it was as easy for him to impress their Minds, that it was *Abraham*, or *Samuel*, or *Daniel*, &c. and no other, that they saw. But I see no Reason to think it necessary, that the Persons that saw and convers'd with the New-raisd Saints, should know, in particular, what or who the Person was, with whom he or she convers'd; tho I take it to be absolutely necessary, so far to know them, as to be satisfied, that they belong'd to the human Family, and had been formerly the Inhabitants of this World; seeing the very End of their appearing, was to bear Evidence, that Christ had conquered Death and the Grave, of which not only his own Resurrection was a Proof, but the Resurrection of many others, of which Number they were. (3.) And indeed, so very degenerate was the State of the *Jews*, as well as of the rest of the World, when Christ was on Earth, by what we can judge from the Evangelical History; that it is hard to think, that there were so many Eminent Saints, of that adulterous and wicked Generation, that died before Christ's Resurrection, as to give Reason to the Spirit of God, to call them by the Name of *many of the Saints*. For, besides *John the Baptist*, and his *Father* and *Mother*, (in case both were then dead) and old *Simeon* and *Anna*, we can hardly find any true *Israelites*, at least of very eminent Note, so much as hinted in all the Four Gospels, who died before our Saviour. (4.) And seeing Dr. *Whitby* does justly suppose, that this Resurrection was the Fulfilling of that remarkable Prophecie of Christ, *John 5. 25.* it is very odd to confine Christ's general Words of

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Raising the Dead, to a few of that last Generation. (5.) Especially seeing, if there be any Sense in that memorable Prediction, *Isa. 26. 19.* we must believe, that many of those that were dead before that Prophet's Days, were to be raised up, at Christ's Resurrection. (6.) And therefore, as the *Jews* believed, that the Eminent Saints of the Old Testament were to be raised by the Messiah, at his Coming, it is no wonder, if Christians did early believe, that this Resurrection, mention'd by *Matthew*, was a Resurrection, tho' not of all the dead Saints, yet of all the most Eminent ones, that had liv'd before his Coming; as appears by what the *Doctor* does himself cite out of (d) one of the Epistles ascribed to *Ignatius*; who says, *That they were the Holy Prophets, who were his Disciples, and expected him, thro' the Spirit, and who are said, to enter into the Kingdom with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Luke 13. 29. & Matth. 8. 11.* And here, that these Places come in my way, I cannot but say, that it is highly probable to me; That Christ design'd not only to let us know, that many under the Gospel, from all Quarters and Regions, should partake eminently of the spiritual Privileges of *Abraham*, and the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*; but also to insinuate, as the remoter and ultimate Sense, that many Eminent Saints should, in after-times, be raised from the Dead, in like manner as those Ancient *Patriarchs* and *Prophets* were to be, in a very little time. Nor can this be strange to any that is acquainted with the Prophetical Dialect; where what is spoken of one thing, in a nearer Sense, and with Respect to a first Accomplishment, is designed further, as to a remoter Accomplishment afterwards. And, if it please God, that I live to accomplish some things which I have in View, I shall make this very plain, and thereby clear up the Extent of many things in Scripture, which Men have perplex'd, by a limited and confined Interpretation of

(d) Epist. ad Magnes. §. 9.

them. But, as a Specimen of this, I desire the Reader may consult the 2^d of my four Discourses, which treats of *God's dwelling with Men*, Page 61. &c.

And here let me say, That I am very apt to believe, that the Spirit of God has given us a Hint of both these special Resurrections, that I am now discoursing of, as well as of the last General One, when after he had given *Daniel* this Account of the General One, Chap. 12. 2. *That many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth, shall awake, some to everlasting Life, and some to Shame and everlasting Contempt*: He adds, by way of Distinction and Peculiarity, this Account of the more Eminent Saints, and their special Reward, ver. 3. *And they that be wise shall shine as the Brightness of the Firmament, and they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever*. By which, I do humbly suppose, that the Resurrection of the Eminent Saints of the Old Testament, at *Christ's Resurrection*, and that other special Resurrection also, at the beginning of the *Milennium*, are denoted: Tho it was not proper, at that Time, to enlarge upon the peculiar things referr'd to, However, that something very peculiar is pointed at, is plain from the following Words, ver. 4. *But thou, O Daniel, shut up the Words, and seal the Book, even to the Time of the End, i. e. be contented with general Hints; until God shall be pleased gradually to clear up the Particulars, that are wrap'd up in this general Account*. For he immediately subjoyns, *many shall run to and fro, (by close Study and Contemplation, as others in another Sense, by Travels and Journies,) and Knowledge shall (come thus to) be increased*. And I thank God, that I (tho poor and despised) am one of those whom God has honour'd this way, to promote and increase Divine Knowledge; and particularly this Part of it, that relates to the Discovery of the special Resurrections I am now discoursing of; which will be further manifest in the Sequel of this Inquiry. And, tho Party-Men, of more sorts than one, may from Envy, Prejudice, and secular or factious Ends, detract

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from me in this, as in other Respects ; yet I dare venture to give forth this Prophecy ; *That the Divine Providence will excite some unprejudic'd Person, or Persons, (when I am gone, and either forgot, or prosecuted by Lies and Calumnies, even long after I am dead,) to clear up my sullied Memory ; as one, (how despicable forever, in other respects,) whom God has been pleas'd to illuminate, excite, qualifie, and make use of, in order to discover the Mind of my blessed Master, further than ever was done before, both in this, and in several other considerable Points ; and that so remarkably, as that it will be matter of wonder to Posterity, that so many important Truths should have continued unknown in the Church, for so many Ages, notwithstanding of the various Hints given, this way, in the sacred Oracles.* But when the Millennium comes, but especially when afterwards Christ himself shall come and comment upon his own Word ; How poor will those Labours of mine, as well as those of others, appear ? But, Oh ! Let him hasten that happy Day, when his truly meridian and resplendent Light may be brought in ! How delightfully shall I triumph, to be thus obscur'd, (as the Stars are when the Orient Sun arises in the East, to shine with his own immediate Beams,) in order to learn his Truths, to greater Perfection, from his own Mouth ?

In the mean time, I write as intirely devoted to himself and Truth, as far as I can find both out. And I do here honestly say, before I proceed to further Steps of this Inquiry ; that I do not, in the least, doubt, but that the Resurrection of the Saints, mention'd by *Matthew, Chap. 27. ver. 52, 53.* was the Resurrection of the most Eminent Saints of the Old Testament. As therefore *Enoch* and *Elijah* were translated, and *Moses* rais'd, by a singular Resurrection, as I have shew'd (e) before ; so I question not, but that *Abel, Noah, Shem* or *Melchisedee, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job,*

(e) Christol. Lib. 1. Page 67, &c.

Samuel, Elisha, Isaiab, Daniel, with many more, are raised from the Dead, together with John the Baptist, old Simeon and others that liv'd afterwards. But I proceed to another Step. Therefore,

2dly. I desire it may be consider'd, That, if the more Eminent Saints of the Old Testament, or first Times, were raised to Glory, by a special Resurrection; whether it be not rational to conclude, from all the Ideas we can form to our selves of Christ, as a just and impartial Judge, That the more Eminent Saints of the New Testament, who liv'd and dy'd under Sufferings, should be rewarded in like manner, by a special Resurrection to Glory, at that time when Christ shall give universal Peace and Prosperity to the Church, during the Thousand Years Reign, of which John gives us an Account in the 20th Chap. of the Revelation.

For, if we once grant the *real Resurrection* of the more Eminent Saints of the Old Testament, and own likewise the Verity of the *Millennium*; I see not, how the Force of this Reasoning can be evaded. If any pretend to do so, they are oblig'd to assign some just and relevant Reason, why one, that is as eminently Religious as another, should not be as eminently rewarded as he, (especially if he live under a better Dispensation, than the other did) by him that judges without any respect of Persons. Which to me were an Attempt to prove a Contradiction and Impossibility.

If therefore, the Eminent Saints of Old, were privileg'd with a peculiar Resurrection, and special Reward, as included therein: And if the New Testament Church, in after Ages, is to enjoy a sort of Heaven upon Earth, for about a Thousand Years, and for the Enjoyment whereof they are eminently oblig'd to the Apostles, Evangelists, Confessors and Martyrs, whose Labours and Sufferings were the Means of their enjoying such Privileges: I ask, Whether it be not highly consonant to the closest Reasoning; nay, and to the very Nature of God, and the Procedure of his wise Providence,

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vidence; to think; That those who laid the Foundation, and were (f) laid at the Foundation, (next and under Christ) of the Churches Exaltation and Triumph, and were perhaps more holy and serviceable than any of them, that are to live during the *Millennium*, should receive some peculiar Reward, that may be, at least, equivalent to that wherewith they shall then be privileg'd.

But, seeing the Stress of this Reasoning does not only lean upon the *Supposition* of a *real Resurrection* of the Eminent Saints, who died before Christ's Resurrection, but likewise upon the *Supposition* of the Verity of the *Millennium*: It may perhaps be expected, that I should prove the *Latter* of these, as well as the *Former*. But, that I may not cut out too much Work for my self now, I desire the Reader may consult Dr. *Whitby's* learned Treatise on this Subject, which is added to the second Volume of his excellent Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament. For, tho the Doctor and I differ pretty considerably in some things, relating to the Explication of this Point; yet I agree with him in all his Proofs, so far as they relate to the Subject in general. For we agree, (1.) That there will be a happy and flourishing State of the visible Church on Earth, (above whatever it enjoy'd before,) for about 1000 Years Continuance. (2.) That there will be no local Descent, or visible Appearance of Christ, in order to his reigning on Earth, after the manner of temporal Monarchs, during that Period; as many formerly fancied. (3.) That neither will there be any such Resurrection of any Saints departed, as denotes *such* a Return to Earth, as includes the Notion of a real Living and Continuance in this present World. (4.) That this Fullness of the *Gentile-Church* will begin with, or, at least, take in the *Jews*, who shall then generally, if not universally, be converted

(f) See Col. 1. 24.

to the Christian Faith and Religion, who shall then be as Life from the Dead, as such a Resurrection of an old dead Church will then be to Christians; for which see Dr. Whitby on Rom. 11. 15, 25. However I must here ingenuously own, that the Doctor's Reasonings carried me too far, when I did from hence conclude, in (g) a former Discourse, *That the Revival of the antient Jewish Church is understood by the Resurrection of the Martyrs, Rev. 20. 4.* For, tho I believe that the Jews will be converted during the Millennium; yet I am now satisfied, (as I hope quickly to demonstrate to others) that the Resurrection of the Martyrs, which commences then, is to be a real and corporeal Resurrection of the Apostles and other most eminent Saints of the New Testament, who died before the Millennium began. However, excepting only this one Particular, I do agree with what I said formerly, in the Discourse referred to, in relation to the Millennium; to (b) which, in Conjunction with what I have said further on this Head, (i) in the 3d Book of Christology, Chap. 4. I do refer the Reader.

The Sum therefore of my Thoughts, in relation to the Millennium, as far as is needful to say here, amounts to these Conclusions (which I think are plain from Rev. 20. 4, 5, &c.) (1.) That there is a time a coming, when Satan shall be restrained, for about 1000 Years, from seducing the Generality of Men, in that manner which he was permitted to run on in before. (2.) That during that time the Church shall have Peace and Renown on Earth; many real Converts being brought in, and others finding it Policy to comply outwardly with the same, as the prevailing Interest. (3.) That, towards the end of the Millennium, there will be a very considerable Apostacy from Christianity. (4.) That

(g) The 1st of the four Discourses, viz. that which is intitled, Concerning the Rise and Fall of Papacy. (b) See Pag. 79, & 91, &c. (i) See Pag. 338, 344, &c.

this Apostacy will issue at length in an Universal Combination to root out the Saints that shall continue faithful to their Lord ; *ver. 7, &c.* (5.) That this Combination will be so formidable, as to bring the Church to the last Extremity, even as that of a long *besieged City*, so shatter'd and ruin'd, as that the Enemy is just ready to take it, Sword in hand, in order to cut off all that are within, *ver. 9.* (6.) That Christ shall come, at the very last and critical Hour, and *consume all his Enemies with Fire from Heaven*, *ver. 9, 10.* as he did Sodom of old, or as he destroyed the *Ante-diluvians* by the Flood ; and that therefore with this Fire, the *General Conflagration* of the World will begin. (7.) That, during this Consternation, while the wicked are consuming, the *General Resurrection* will commence ; which will be followed with the *Great Judgment* of the last Day, *ver. 11, &c.* Now of this I conceive there will be two Periods. (1.) The Resurrection of the dead Saints, who were not raised in the former special Resurrections ; together with the Immortalizing Change, that will pass upon such Saints, as shall then be alive : which will be followed by the *Ascension* of both. Of all which the Apostle speaks, *1 Thess. 4. 15, 16, 17.* (2.) The Resurrection of the Wicked afterwards ; and I humbly think long afterwards ; perhaps as long as it was between our Saviour's first Publick Appearance, and the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *viz. 40 Years.* In the Trial, Conviction and Condemnation of which vast Multitude, we may well suppose (as I have formerly said once and again) that the far greatest part of a thousand Years will be taken up. Having thus hinted these things, I now proceed to another, and indeed the Principal Step, in order to the Probation of this Point. Therefore,

3dly. I desire that it may be considered, that we have, as I think, a *plain Revelation of the Truth and Certainty of this Point*, *Rev. 24. 4.*

But in order to understand this Expression of Scripture, I think fit to premise another, to which this does certainly

certainly bear a reference, viz. Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11. To see the whole therefore together, I shall cite these Places, as they lie in order, so as to include my Sense of them, within so many Parentheses, as may clear up the Sense of the Words.

Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11. *And when he (i. e. Christ the Lamb, who opened all the Seals, as we see, ver. 1.) had opened the Fifth Seal; I saw, under the Altar, (of Sacrifice, where the Blood of Sacrifices used to be poured out, Lev. 4. 7. compare Phil. 2. 17. with Psal. 27. 5.) the Souls of them emblematically represented) that were slain for (the sake of Christ, who is) the Logos of God, and for the Testimony (viz. the Christian Profession) which (in opposition to all Temptations) they held; (viz. firm to the End.)*

And they cried (instead of the four Angelical or Evangelical Voices, that cried successively under the former Seals) with a loud Voice (denoting their Number, the Importance of their Complaint, and their Concern to be heard,) saying, How long, O Lord (Jesus) Holy, (and therefore detesting the barbarous Usage and Murders of thy Friends) and true (to thy Promises, as that in Luke 18. 7, 8.) dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood, on them that dwell on the Earth; i. e. so, as that we may now be raised from the Dead, seeing the last Pagan Persecution is almost over, and Christianity is just about to become the prevailing Interest of the Empire, under Constantine.

And white Robes (denoting a new and peculiar degree of Honour and Glory) were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they must rest a little time further (for that the special Resurrection which they expected was not yet to be) until these, (i. e. the remaining Ages of the next Period of Papal Persecutions) should likewise be fulfilled, and until their Fellow-Servants also, and Brethren, should be killed, (as they had been under Pagan Persecutions.

Rev. 20. 4, 5. *And I saw (upon Satan's being restrain'd for 1000 Years, ver. 3.) Thrones, (i. e. New and solemn Christian*

Christian Erection) and they (i.e. the Saints of the Most High, Dan. 7. 9, 12, 18, 21, 22, 26, 27. Zech. 14. 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21.) sat upon them, (i.e. Christianity was universally Regnant and Prevalent, Jews and Gentiles owning it) and Judgment was given to them (i.e. to Christians.)

And I saw (at the same time) the Souls of them that were beheaded (i.e. the more eminent Saints and Martyrs, who suffered under Rome-Pagan, and who were mention'd, Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11.) for the Witness of Jesus, and for (Christ) the Word of God.

And (together with them, I saw likewise the Souls of those) who had not worshipped the (Papal) Beast, neither his Image, neither had received his Mark in their Foreheads, or in their Hands.

And they (i.e. both the former and later eminent Witnesses and Martyrs) lived, (being raised from the Dead for that End, pursuant to the Promise made to the former, Rev. 6. 11.) and reigned with Christ, (not on Earth therefore, but in Heaven) a thousand Years (sooner than the other Saints of meaner Character; who were not to rise until the thousand Years were ended; for this is immediately added,)

But the rest of the Dead lived not again, until the thousand Years were finished. At which time, the general Conflagration will happen. And then good Men, who were not privileg'd to be rais'd before the Millennium, shall be raised (and raised first) before the Wicked shall be raised up, as Paul assures us, 1 Thess. 4. 15, 16. Tho it is remarkable also in that same place, that the Apostle insinuates, ver. 14. that others were raised long before Christ's coming to Judgment, when he says, that Christ, when he comes to judge the World, will bring those along with him, that slept in him, which supposes their having been rais'd before; and then he adds, ver. 16. that the Dead in Christ, (viz. such as were raised by the Power of Christ's Coming, and the Voice of the Archangel) shall rise first; and that, at the same time, those Saints that are alive shall come under the immortalizing Change,

Change, (spoken of, 1 Cor. 15. 51, 52.) and so caught up, together with them, (*viz.* the last rais'd Saints, for the former did not ascend, but descend from Heaven with Christ) to meet the Lord, and his Glorious Train, in the Air. And now, if these things be duly weighed, we shall find a new Light, in order to our right apprehending of the Apostle's Meaning, 1 Cor. 3. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Which, seeing it was never understood fully before, I shall not grudge to copy out here, as I have done the former Texts, so as to interweave the true and genuine Sense of the Apostle therewith. Now, if any Man build upon this Foundation (*viz.* upon Christ himself, the only true Foundation, as Paul says in ver. 10.) Gold, Silver, precious Stones, (*i.e.* Materials proper for the Christian Superstructure, and suited to the Divine Foundation thereof) or Wood, Hay, Stubble, (*i.e.* corruptible Materials, neither proper for the Building, nor consonant to the Foundation;) let it be remembred, that every Man's Work shall be made manifest. For the Day (of Recompence) shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire (*i.e.* by the fiery Trial, during the Conflagration of the World, where Christ will sit as a Refiner, to try Men and their Works, as Metals are tried by the Fire of the Furnace) and the Fire shall try every Man's Work (in order to discover) of what sort it is. If any Man's Work (therefore) abide (this Probation in the more eminent Sense,) which he hath built thereupon; he shall receive the Reward, (*i.e.* of the Prior Resurrection.) But if any Man's Work shall be burnt (*i.e.* be adjudged to be fit to be rejected,) He shall suffer loss (by being excluded a share in this special Resurrection and Reward;) But (however, seeing he has, in the main, founded upon Christ the true Foundation) he himself shall be saved; yet so as by Fire; (*i.e.* by seeing and feeling, in some measure, the great Conflagration, out of which he shall escape as a Man that has his House on Fire, and all his Goods burnt, tho he himself mercifully escape with his Life, tho perhaps sing'd and scorch'd.) Now these things will direct us to understand, with advantage, the remaining part of the Account

count given us of the special Resurrection of the more eminent Saints, and their special Reward, who *have built no Hay or Stubble on the true Foundation, but Gold, Silver and precious Stones.* To come back therefore to Rev. 20. 5. It is said of the special Resurrection, which is to be at the beginning of the *Millennium*; That,

This (viz. the Resurrection of the Eminent Witnesses of Christ) is the first Resurrection (viz. under the Gospel Dispensation.) And of the Specialty of this Resurrection, and the peculiar Reward annexed to it, we have this memorable account, ver. 6.

Blessed and holy is he, that hath part in the first Resurrection: For on such Persons the second Death, (i. e. eternal Death which begins upon the wicked, at the same time with their being raised during the Conflagration of the World,) hath no Power; (which is spoken not only in opposition to the wicked, upon whom the second Death has full Power, but also in Contradistinction to those, who are indeed saved at last, but yet so as to feel that Fire, and to be under some dread that way, for a time,) But they shall be Priests of God and of Christ (i. e. shall be exalted to the highest Glory and Dignity,) and shall reign with him, (in Heaven, where he is and must continue, until the Millennium, &c. be over) a thousand Years. So that while Christians are the regnant Party on Earth; the eminent Saints and Martyrs are to be rais'd to live and reign also; but not with the Church on Earth, but with Christ in Heaven.

And now I do humbly suppose, that I have given the only true Exposition of these Texts; and that in so natural and easie a Connexion and Chain of Thought, as seems to shine above all Contradiction, with such an Air of Truth, as no Errour can be like it; as the Reader will own, if he has but allowed himself closely and impartially to go over this Paraphrastical Explication, which I have given.

But, in order to the further clearing up of this Point, I desire that it may be considered, that we have *three* distinct Things to consider in these two Texts, which have a close Reference one to the other. (1.)

(1.) *The Prayer of the Souls of the Saints and Martyrs of Christ, who are represented as shelter'd under the Altar.*

Now this Prayer is, (as appears from the Answer,) That Christ would fulfil his Promise, in raising them from the Dead. And the Reason of it is this; That the Christian Church was now just about to be rais'd out of its Grave, by *Constantine*, to be the Regnant Interest of the Empire. Seeing therefore they had believ'd, that they should be rais'd up at that time, that Christianity should begin to prevail; they had agreed jointly to put up this humble Petition, that, as the living Saints now were about to reign in Peace and Glory on Earth, God would fulfil his Promise, that they should be also rais'd to reign with Christ in the celestial Glory above; for that it was Matter of Wonder and Concern to them, that there had been no Step taken, as yet, this way. For this I take to be the real Scope and Substance of their Petition; when they say, *Rev. 6. 10. How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth, i. e. by raising us from the Dead, as a Proof of thy detesting those who murder'd us, and of thy bestowing upon us that Honour and Reward, which we had such Ground from thy Self to expect.*

Now this Interpretation I do not oppose, but super-add to that, which I gave formerly of the Meaning of the 5th Seal, in my (k) *Apocalyptical Discourse*. For, whereas I did then interpret the Design of their Prayer, to relate to the Resurrection of Christianity on Earth; I still think that they meant this in Part; and that consequently, what I give in that Place, as the Meaning of the Answer is true. But I own, that I was in a Mistake, when I confin'd the Sense of both, as I did. Which proceeded from hence, that I had not, at that time, been so far inlightned, as I have been

since, in understanding this memorable Point, that I am now discoursing of.

My Notion therefore is this; That the Eminent Saints and Martyrs departed, understanding by these Martyrs that were, every Day, going upwards from Earth to the Paradisical State (during the Massacres and Persecutions under *Dioclesian*, and his Collegiate Emperors and *Cæsars*,) in what a desperate State Christianity then was; and understanding, at the same time, by Revelation from Christ, that Deliverance was just at the Door; and that the Church on Earth was about to be exalted on Earth, under *Constantine*: I say, the Souls in Paradise understanding both these, and having a general Idea of this; That there was to be a special Resurrection of the Saints and Martyrs, at or before the Exaltation of the Church on Earth, did suppose, that this was that Period of Time, wherein they were to be raised from the Dead. But not being fully and perfectly informed of this Matter, and wondering that no Hint was yet given them of this Resurrection, tho they were informed of the Revival of the Church on Earth: It is agreed among them, to put up this Petition; wherein they pray for both these things; of which memorable Transaction, *John* has here given us, from Christ, such a Revelation and Representation, as gives us the summary Account, both of their Petition, and the Answer that is returned to the same. Now,

(2.) *The Answer to this Prayer of the Souls of the Eminent Saints departed*, follows. And this is remarkable, upon this Account, that it contains, (1.) *A Rectification*, of their *Mistake*, in thinking, that this was to be the Time, when Christianity was to be universally Regnant on Earth, and consequently the Time, when the special Resurrection was to commence; (2.) *A Confirmation* of the Truth of their *Idea* of both these, in the *General*; their *Mistake* being only as to the *Circumstance* of the *Time*, when both these should be brought about; (3.) *A Specification*, (inclusive of a *Promise*

*mise and Assurance, as to the Thing it self, of the precise Time, when Christianity should be Regnant over all the Earth; and when they also should be rais'd again, to reign in Heaven with Christ, viz. that both these should come to pass, when the Church had waded thro' Papal or Antichristian Persecutions, as now it had waded thro' all the Pagan Persecutions; for that they and the latter Martyrs were to be raised together, upon the Destruction of the Antichristian Kingdom; which was about to take Place gradually in the World, in a Succession to the Pagan Religion and Empire. But then, (4.) We have here also an Account of a special Reward given them, which was to compensate the Delay of answering the Thing petition'd for; as being, tho not a Grant of the Thing it self, at present, yet a material Answer; by giving them an Equivalent to it, at least such a Favour, as did fully answer the End of their Petition, at that Time. This is express'd, under the Figure of *White Robes*, (such as Princes wore of old) *a luminous Garment being given to each of them*, as a Badge of an higher Exaltation in the Service of the *Shechinah*, as well as of a nearer Relation to him.*

— Now as *this* is plainly express'd, in the *Beginning of ver. 11.* So the former *Three Particulars*, are equally insinuated, in the Sequel of that Verse, *viz. the 1st. and 2d.* in these few, but comprehensive Words, *That they must rest further* (without being rais'd from the State of the Dead) *for a little Season*, i. e. a Season comparatively little and short, if the State of the rest of the Dead be considered, (especially such who died before the Flood) who were not to be raised until the end of Time; and the *3d.* in the Words following, explanatory of the Length of this Season; *Until their Fellow Servants and Brethren also*, (*viz. such as were to suffer under Rome-Papal*) *should be killed as they had been*, (*under Rome-Pagan,*) *and thus until the compleat Number of the Saints to be raised, in the special and first Resurrection, should be fulfilled.*

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And thus I have sufficiently, tho briefly, explained both the *Question* of the Souls under the Altar, and the *Answer* returned. But before I proceed, let me take Notice of those important Truths, that result from them, according to this speculative Comment, which I have given. And, (1.) This confirms, what I have (1) formerly proved, *viz.* That Souls departed are neither annihilated, nor in an unactive or insensible State; (2.) That tho they are out of this lower State of Sin, Trial and Sorrow, they are not so compleatly happy, but that they are capable of higher Degrees, both of Knowledge and Advancement in Glory; (3.) That they are neither altogether unacquainted with the State of the Church below, nor unconcern'd for their Brethren and Fellow-Servants, in this Militant State; (4.) That Eminent Saints departed, do not only believe that there is to be a Time, when Christianity shall be the universally prevailing Interest, in this World; but likewise that they are then to be privileg'd with a special Resurrection of their Bodies; (5.) That, upon some Eminent Advancements of the State of the Militant Church on Earth, the Saints in Paradise, who liv'd and dy'd under Trouble and Persecution, have a peculiar additional Advancement in Glory; (6.) That the *special Resurrection* is neither to commence sooner, nor to be delayed later, than the Time of the Papacy's being destroyed, and the very first Beginning of, or rather Preparation for, the *Millenary Reign*.——But now, to proceed, I come to consider,

(3.) *The fulfilling of the Promise and Assurance formerly given, as to the special Resurrection; and that punctually in the precise Time, which was specified; as this was represented to the Apostle John, Rev. 20. 4, &c.*

And indeed, if any Person will collate this with the former Text, *Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11.* He will need no o-

(1) See the 1st Book of Christology, and my Discourse on the Death of King William.

ther Proof; especially if he will take my Paraphrase along with him, in Conjunction with the Words. For I am sure, nothing of this Nature can be plainer than this; *That both Parts of the Petition of the Saints* (viz. *that relating to the universal Regnancy of Christianity on Earth, and that other, relating to their own special Resurrection at that Time, or rather previously to it,*) *and consequently both Parts of the Answer and Promise made to that Prayer, are particularly and distinctly answered here in this last Place.*

For, 1. Here a short, but plain Account is given, of all that's necessary, both to assure us of the Truth of the *Millenary Reign of Christianity on Earth*, and to assist us to form a genuine Idea thereof. But seeing I have already given an Account of my Thoughts, this way, above, in the 2^d Step of this 1st Inquiry, as also formerly both in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, and in the 4th Chap. of the 3^d Book of *Christology*; (to the very Pages of both which Discourses, I have also referr'd the Reader:) I hope I may be excus'd from saying more, upon this Head again, in this Place.

2. And no less distinct an Account is given here, of the *special Resurrection of the Eminent Witnesses and Martyrs of Christ*: Whose Resurrection must be a real and corporeal One, (according to the Rule of Contraries, and according to all the Methods of Reasoning,) seeing it is distinguish'd from, and oppos'd unto the *General Resurrection*; seeing it is said of the Former, *that they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand Years, before the rest of the Dead, of whom it is said, that they lived not until the thousand Years were finished*; besides that the former Resurrection is called the *first Resurrection*, in Contradistinction to the general One, which therefore comes under the Notion of the *last Resurrection*. And, in what Sense these things are to be understood, I have sufficiently hinted above: So that there is no need to insist upon the Words further.

Only, in case any Person should object and say, That the Revelation being all compos'd of Figures and Allegories,

legories, it does not seem proper to give so literal an Exposition of this Subject, as I have done: I answer, (1.) That I readily grant, that the Bulk of the Revelation is Figurative, and ought accordingly to be thus explain'd; (2.) But yet we must own, that there are some Passages therein, that cannot be understood wholly in an Emblematical Sense, as particularly Chap. 1. 1—11. ver. 17, 18. Chap. 2. 5, 11. Chap. 3. 5, 10, 19. Chap. 14. 13. Chap. 17. 18. (3.) And tho some Figurative Words are made use of in the Texts cited, to keep a Decorum with the rest of the Revelation; yet, as Truth is at the bottom of the Whole, so it is easie to be seen, that the Truths I have mention'd are thus also at the Bottom of these Texts; nay, so plainly denoted there, that they cannot possibly be rightly understood, unless my Sense, in the Main, be received. Nay, I will venture to say further, That if my Interpretation be intirely rejected, I desire the most learned and ingenious Man in the World, to find out so much as a plausible Interpretation of these Texts, that shall be consistent, at once, with the Words and it self. (4.) But I desire, that it may be considered, in a more special manner, That *Prophetical Time* runs out before the *Millennium* begins. This I found upon the Oath, as well as Promise and Publication of the Angel, made mention of, Rev. 10. 5, 6, 7. which allow me to recite with some Paraphrastical Explication, as well as with some small Variation from the *English Version*. And the Angel, which I saw (in Vision) stand upon the Sea (with one Leg and Foot) and upon the Earth, (with another,) lifted up his Hand (in the Posture of taking God to witness,) to Heaven (as God's Throne;) And (in this Posture of solemn swearing, as we see, Gen. 14. 22. Dan. 12. 7.) swore by him, that liveth for ever and ever, who created Heaven, and the Things that are therein, and the Earth and the Things that are therein, and the Sea and the Things that are therein, that there should be (such) Time no longer; (viz such Time, as Daniel was taught to use, in a Prophetical Sense, Chap. 7. 25. & Chap. 12. 7, 11,

12. and *John* likewise, *Rev.* 11. 3. *Chap.* 12. 6. *Chap.* 11. 2. *Chap.* 13. 5. & *Chap.* 12. 14. where Days are put for Years, &c.) But that in the Days (*i. e.* Ages of the Voice (or Sound) of the seventh (Trumpet) Angel, *ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν*, when he is about sounding (and whose sounding, as I have proved in my Apocalyptical Discourse, doth include all the seven Vials, in some Sense, *viz.* as it is productive of them,) the Mystery of God (or the Mystical Prophecy, concerning the State of the Church, as persecuted, during Paganism, which is represented by the seven Seals; the Mystical Prophecy also, concerning the State of the Church, as persecuted, during Antichristianism, which is represented by the seven Trumpets, and seven Vials,) should be finished, according to his Declaration made to his Servants the Prophets, (for which, see *Dan.* 12. 5, 6, 7. & *Acts* 3. 24, 25, 26. & *2 Thess.* 2. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. (5.) And let me add this one Thing further, That, as it is plain, that in all the preceding Part of the Revelation, there is no Calculation by Years, but by the indefinite Period, called Time, Times and half Time, and that of Months and Days, (by which it is easie to see, that the Dialect is altered, *Rev.* 20. 4.) so should any Man be so foolish, as to suppose that every Day of the 1000 Years, must be understood of a Year, I can only say, that he may be a good Arithmetician; but he will hardly persuade People of Sense, to believe that the present Race of Men are to continue on Earth, for so many Ages, as this is like to amount to; and much less will it ever obtain Credit, that the Christian Church is likely to continue pure, in a State of Sin and Trial here below, for so vast a Tract of Time.

And now, I might justly have hop'd, that I had demonstrated this Point, were it not, that the Learning and Fame of a very learned Man, who has written on this very Head, may be opposed to what I have said. And therefore I find it necessary to consider Dr. *Whitby's* Arguments against this; especially seeing the very Title of his learned Discourse tells us, that it was a

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main Part of his Design, to refute this Opinion, which I contend for ; not that he knew this Opinion, in any such manner as I have represented it in, (otherwise I hardly think he would ever have opposed it ;) but, according to that gross Notion of some former Authors ; who imagin'd, *that the dead Saints were to rise, at the Millennium, to live again here on Earth.* Whereas, as I said before, under the 2d Step of this 1st Inquiry ; he and I are agreed, 1. That there will be an happy State of the Saints on Earth for about 1000 Years. 2. That Christ will not visibly reign on Earth then. 3. That there will be no Resurrection of the dead Saints, so as to live and reign on Earth. 4. That the Church on Earth will consist of the Jews, as well as Gentiles ; by the Accession of which to the Christian Profession, the Fulness of the Christian Church will be brought in ; as well as by a more universal Conversion of Gentile Nations.

However, tho he and I are agreed in these things : Yet, seeing we differ in our Answers to this Question ? *Whether there will be a real and corporeal Resurrection of the eminent Saints and Martyrs at or before the Millennium ?* He holding the Negative, and I the Affirmative : It is reasonable to consider his Arguments, so far as they concern my Notion, and the Interpretation which I have given of *Rev. 20. 4, &c.*

And here let it be noted ; that as I am not concerned, in the least, with what the Doctor speaks of, in the 1st and 2d Chapters (as being agreed with him, almost in every thing ;) so I am less concerned with his Argument, in *Chap. 4.* which militates indeed strongly against such a Resurrection, as supposes a Reign of the Martyrs raised to be here on Earth, for 1000 Years. So that I am only concerned with what he says in *Chap. 3.* But not with all of it neither. For, as to what relates barely to some Texts, that some have interpreted with reference to some peculiar Notions of the *Millennium*, I have nothing to say at present. But the first part of that Chapter being purposely levell'd against

any manner of Corporeal Resurrection ; it is fit, that I should consider it, as far as concerns me. Now, what the Doctor says, amounts to these three things.

1. He says, that is not the *Bodies* but the *Souls* of the Martyrs, that are said to be raised, *Rev. 20. 4, &c.* and that *Soul*, in the Revelation, denotes either the *Soul in Separation*, or the *living Soul* in distinction from the Body. See *Pag. 686.*

2. That a proper and literal Resurrection is never, in the whole new Testament, expressed or represented to us, by the *living of the Soul.* *Ibid.*

3. That the *first Resurrection* must be understood of all good Men, in the general, *Pag. 687.* From whence he proceeds to explain things, relating to the *Millennium* and figurative Resurrection then ; which I need only refer the Reader unto, desiring him to compare his Notions with mine, and to reject which he pleases. For indeed I barely cite these things here, to avoid Repetition ; seeing the Author himself goes over them again, in what follows, *Pag. 687, and 688, and more particularly in Pag. 889.* In which Page he tells us of a *Reverend and worthy Person*, of more than ordinary Skill in matters of this Nature, who is of Opinion ; 1st. *That the first Resurrection will be a literal Resurrection of them that have lost their Lives for the Testimony of Christ to enjoy eternal Life in Heaven, a thousand Years before the general Resurrection ; as the Martyrs of the Old Testament arose with the Body of Christ, Mat. 27. 52. They shall reign* (says that worthy Person, as the Doctor represents his Sense) *with Christ, not on Earth, but in Heaven, where Christ is, and shall be, till he come to Judgment.* 2^{dly}. He is of Opinion also, *That not only the Martyrs shall then rise to heavenly Bliss, but that their Murders shall then also rise to Eternal Punishment.* Which he gathers from these words of *Daniel, Chap. 12. 2. And many of them that sleep in the Dust shall arise, some to everlasting Life, and some to everlasting Shame and Contempt.*

Now, as for this second Notion of that worthy Gentleman, seeing he founds it only upon *Dan. 12. 2.* I

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must crave leave to differ from him : For which I need give no other reason than this ; that I have given another Interpretation above of that Passage ; which I do humbly judge to be more consonant to the Christian Scheme, and indeed to his first Notion also.

But, as to his first Notion, I cannot but say ; that I am exceedingly pleas'd to know from Dr. *Whitby*, that there is so eminent a Person, whose Thoughts do so intirely harmonize with mine. For, tho he be *Intognito* to me, yet it seems he has been directed to have the same Notion I have, in the main, as to this Point ; wherein I was ready to think I was intirely singular. And therefore, seeing Dr. *Whitby* goes over the Sum and Strength of his former Arguments, in order to produce them again here, towards the Refutation of this Notion of this eminent Divine, tho he names him not ; I thought it proper to defer answering his Arguments, against a *literal first Resurrection*, until I should come to his own Repetition of them, in opposition to what this *Learned and Worthy Person* advances. Now all that Dr. *Whitby* says here, (which, materially considered, is all he had said before,) is, as follows :

1. He says, That St. *Matthew* speaks not one Word of any Martyrs, that arose after Christ's Resurrection, but only of *the arising of some Saints that slept, &c.* *Ans.* I have cleared up that Passage, *Matth. 27. 52.* already, and fully refuted the Doctor's Notion, which is ; *that none arose then, but a few Saints, that died in Jerusalem and Judæa a little before Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection.* So that I shall only take notice of two things further here.

1. That I wonder why the Doctor should call the Saints raised then, by the Name of *some Saints* ; when it is said in the Text, as he himself cites it, in his next Argument, that *many Bodies* arose. 2. That there is not the least Ground, from the Text, to think, that the *many Saints that arose and appeared*, were known particularly, by reason of any knowledge, that the Persons, to whom they appeared, had of them formerly ; but

only that they were so far known, as to be known not to have been of the number of the present Citizens, or Inhabitants of this World. But I refer the Reader to what I have said above on this Text.

2. He says, That the Phraseology of St. Matthew and St. John are different; for that the former says, That *many Bodies arose*, but that the latter says only, That *many Souls lived*: So that, tho the first Expression denotes a real Resurrection; yet, that it cannot be infer'd from thence, that the second Expression denotes any such thing. *Ans^w. (1.)* Tho the Scripture speak ordinarily of the Resurrection, under the Phrases, of *raising the Dead*, or *raising from the Dead*, or of *the Resurrection of the Body*; yet the Doctor knows, that it was common with the Hebrews, to call *living Men*, by the Name of *Souls*, as we see, Gen. 46. 26. Gen. 12. 5. Lev. 18. 29. Josh. 10. 28. and in many other places. *(2.)* It was indeed very consonant to an Historical Relation of things past, to speak of the Resurrection of the Saints, that arose after Christ's Resurrection, under the Phrase of *the arising of their Bodies out of their Graves*. But it was equally decorous to the Emblematical Representation, which John had of this matter, to represent the Resurrection of the Saints, at the beginning of the Millennium, as he has done; when he says, that he saw *their Souls alive*, or so, as to see them to *live again*. For, 1. This Expression of *Souls*, was consonant to his former Vision, Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11. of which this Rev. 20. 4, 5, &c. is a completion. 2. This Epithet of *Living*, in this last Place, was consonant also to his own Phraseology in both Places, as to the Rationale or Reason of his altering his Stile so far; as to add *living* to *Souls* in this latter Place. For tho, in the first place, he represents the separate Souls, not only as existing, but living, and reasoning, and praying: Yet he does not use the Phrase *living*; because that was used appropriately, to distinguish *separate Souls* from *Souls embodied*. So that, when he comes to say, that the *separate Souls* came to *Life again*, or to *live again*;

no sense can be made of the change of the Phrase, unless we allow of their being raised from the dead. 3. And indeed this Phrase was all that the Apostle could possibly use in reason, at this time, if Circumstances be duly considered. For, seeing it was not actually raised Persons that he saw, but only a Visionary Representation of Persons to be raised, who were at that time separate Souls; it had been unreasonable and contrary to the Prophetical Stile, to have spoken in the Dialect of *Matthew*; nay it had carried along with it an Appearance, at least, of Falshood, to have spoken in the Historical Stile, as if these Souls had then actually assumed Bodies, at the time when *John* wrote. As therefore the Spirit of God was to guard against Errors on both hands, by representing this as a *Real Resurrection*, and not a *Metaphorical One*, on the one hand, and yet as a *Resurrection*, that was not past, but future, upon the other hand: So it is worthy our serious Observation, how wisely he directs the Scene of this Vision, and directs the Apostle *John* to word himself. (3.) But that Persons are meant, by *Souls living again*, is plain, if it were only, as I said before, from the opposing the living of those Souls, to the living of the Remainder of separate Souls, when it is said, *ver. 5. but the rest of the Dead lived not again, until the 1000 Years were fulfilled*. So that, seeing it is said of them, that they really arose, *ver. 12. I saw the Dead, small and great, stand before God, &c.* It is equally certain, that the first Resurrection was designed to denote, not a *Metaphorical*, but a *real one*.——By all which we may easily see, why the Spirit of God used a different Phrase here, from those commonly used, in Doctrinal Discourses, to denote the Resurrection of the Dead: So that all Arguments drawn from these are of no Force, to invalidate what we are now defending.——And consequently we may justly conclude likewise, that the Doctor's consequential Reasoning, drawn from the ordinary Phrases, used to denote the Resurrection of the Dead, in order to prove, that the Apostle *John* meant, by

by the first Resurrection, not the special Resurrection of the eminent Saints and Martyrs, but the general Resurrection of all good Men, in opposition to the general Resurrection of all the Wicked, is a very precarious and unconclusive way of Reasoning: At the same time, that I understand not, how it is consistent with the Doctor's own (m) Opinion, that the first Resurrection is a metaphorical one only. However certain it is, from John's Account, that the rest of the Dead, who lived not until the Millennium was fulfilled, is a Phrase, that denotes good Men, (i. e. those good Men that were not raised before the Millennium) as well as wicked Men. For as these who are called, *The rest of the Dead*, are all that are said to be judged, (which those that rose, before the Millennium, are exempted from, by reason of their known and undoubted Eminency;) so it is added, that they were judged out of the Books that were open.

(m) For seeing the Doctor owns no other Resurrection at the Millennium, but only that there will be an eminent Revival; then, of the Christian Church; it looks very odd, to oppose this to the general and real Resurrection of the Wicked only; when, according to him, the general Resurrection is inclusive of all the Godly as well as Wicked. When therefore he tells us, under his third Argument, that there is to be an Apostasy after the Millennium; it does indeed prove, that there is to be such a glorious State of the Church on Earth, as He and I are agreed in; but it says nothing against the Resurrection we speak of, viz. of those that are to reign with Christ in Heaven. * For those that reign on Earth, are the Nations freed from Gentile, Mahometanism, and Popish Delusions, ver. 3. over whom Christian Thrones or Governments are erected, ver. 4. But besides this earthly Reign of the revived and increased Militant Church, we are also told of the Resurrection of others, even of separate Souls, who were made alive, (i. e. by being rais'd from the separate State; for as Souls, tho' not as compleat Persons, they were alive before,) and who reigned with Christ, (and therefore not on Earth, but in Glory,) during that time, that the Church Militant reign'd on Earth) i. e. for a thousand Years before the Resurrection of the rest of the Dead. From all which, it is easy to see, That there is no Contradiction between this Opinion, and the common Current of the New Testament, which asserts one General Resurrection only: Seeing this Resurrection, which I am treating of, was never asserted to be general, any more than that Resurrection was, which is mentioned, Matth. 27. 52.

ned for this end, (a Phrase taken from the Custom of exact Human Judicatories) according to their Works. And the Conclusion of the Sentence upon both, is thus expressed; *And Death and Hell* (or Hades) (taken in the worst Sense) were cast (i. e. 1st Imperfection, with all Things and Persons that were imperfect, and belonged properly to these) into the Lake of Fire, (i. e. into Gehenna, or that Place that is properly called Hell, as being a Phrase taken from the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, by being swallow'd up in a burning Lake.) This is the second (or eternal) Death. And therefore it is added, *And whatsoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast thus into the Lake of Fire.* Which plainly supposes, that all those that were judged, were not cast into that Lake. However, the Spirit of God seems rather to insinuate this, than express it; for this wise and just Reason, That all Christians that regard Salvation, might be excited, to such a Christian and Heroical Diligence, in minding Religion, that they might attain to the first Resurrection, (pronouncing, for this end, a special Blessing upon those that attain to the same, ver. 6.) and that so, as not to run the Risk of the narrow Search of the last Judgment; seeing, (as I said before,) if they were indeed to be saved then, at all, yet it was to be only, with a scarcely, and so as by Fire.

1. But the Doctor adds, that it is not said, That the Martyrs are to reign with Christ 1000 Years before the general Resurrection, but only that they shall reign with him 1000 Years; which, he says, is an odd Expression, when applied to them, that are to reign for ever with him. I answer, that it is very odd to me, that so great a Man should use such a kind of Argument. For, 1st. It is plain, that John only marks out this Period, in Contradistinction to them that were not to be raised, till the 1000 Years were expired. 2^{dly}. John tells us, at the same time, in Words equivalent to the reigning of those Saints for ever, that they were so blessed, that the second Death should have no Power over them, but that they should be Priests of God and Christ.

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3. He might as well have objected against Christ's being said to reign 1000 Years, (together with his Saints,) as if it sounded so odd, as if it were not consistent with his being said elsewhere, to reign for ever.

As for what the Doctor adds, in the last Place, viz. that it contradicts many Scriptures, which expressly teach, that the Time of the Punishment of the Wicked shall be, after the Sentence of Absolution hath been pronounced on the Blessed, (such as *Matth.* 25. 41—46. *John* 5. 5, 28, 29. *Rom.* 2. 8, 9, 16. *2 Cor.* 5. 10. *2 Thess.* 1. 6—9. *2 Pet.* 2. 9. & 3. 7. *Jude* 14, 15. *Rev.* 1. 7.) I say, that this militates only against that 2d Branch of his worthy Apocalyptical Friend's Opinion, That the Murthurers of the Martyrs shall arise, as well as the Martyrs themselves, before the Millennium. An Opinion, I confess, very odd, and, I think, inconsistent with the Christian Scheme. So that having nothing to do with it, I take leave of the Doctor at present. Only I hope I may be allowed to say; that seeing so learned and judicious a Divine, as Dr. *Whitby*, could produce no stronger Arguments against this Opinion of mine; it confirms me, not a little, in the firmer Belief thereof.

But, tho I have done with Dr. *Whitby*, I find my self oblig'd to take some Notice of a very singular Notion, on this Head: For tho it do not directly militate against me, yet it is so foreign to my Scheme, and indeed, I think, to the scriptural Scheme in general, That it were not proper to pass by it, in silence, in this Place. It is a small Discourse, publish'd by the Revernd Mr. *Staynoe*, in the Year 1700, as additional to a Treatise intituled, *Salvation by Jesus Christ alone*. The small Discourse (with which I am only concerned) bears this Title: *A short Inquiry, Whether it does not appear from the Scriptures, that the Gospel of Christ shall be made known to those Men, after their Resurrection, to whom it had never been made known before their Death*. In which Inquiry, he maintains the Affirmative.

I shall not spend time upon every thing said in this Discourse. For, (1.) When he supposes, That the

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Conflagration of the World, together with the *General Resurrection* and *Judgment* of all Men that liv'd before the *Millennium*, is to be Prior to, or rather to commence with that *Millinary State*, Page 366. He seems to have forgot the whole Tenure of the Context, *Rev. 20.* and may see his Notion fully refuted by *Dr. Whitby*, in his above-mention'd Treatise. And consequently, (2.) His third and last Resurrection must fall to the Ground, viz. that of *Gog and Magog*: For of them only he explains what is said, *Rev. 20. 11, &c.* which all Expositors, before him, have understood of the general, as well as last Resurrection; as I believe later Expositors will do, in all time coming; for I do not think that ever *Mr. Staynoe* will have many Scholars. For he says expressly, Page 367. *I exclude all who shall be saved, out of this third and last Resurrection.* (3.) And, I hope, there is no need to refute that old and obsolete Notion, which he revives, when he makes *the risen Witnesses* (viz. those that are to rise actually from the State of the Dead) *to live and reign, not in Heaven, but on Earth*; and consequently his Notion, as to *Christ's personal and visible Reign upon the same*. For besides that I have again and again shewed the Falseness of both these Notions, *Dr. Whitby* has done it largely and unanswerably.

However, I am oblig'd to take notice of his *Three-fold Resurrection*, as he mentions them, Page 344, & 366.

Now, I humbly suppose, that he ought rather to have spoken of three Periods of the Resurrection; and then, in speaking to the *First*, he might have divided it into two sorts of Resurrections that belong'd to that Period. For I am sure, tho he proposes three Resurrections only, yet he actually treats of them, as if they were four. For we are forced, in following his Method, to reckon so many.

The 1st Resurrection is that of all the Faithful, Page 344. And this he supposeth to be, not only Prior, as to its beginning, to the next, but so, as that it must be fully over before the next begin, Page 348.

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The 2d Resurrection is that of the Wicked or (as he calls them) Reprobates. And his Opinion of them is this; that they shall, all of them, be destroyed by the general Conflagration, some time after that the Resurrection of the Saints is over. I confess he writes so confusedly, and in the dark here, that it is not easie to apprehend what he means: And no wonder, seeing the Notion it self is so perplex'd. But this must be his Meaning; seeing otherwise no Sense at all can be made of his Words, Page 348, 349. But however, he immediately interweaves with this Resurrection of reprobate Christians, who are to be destroyed by the general Conflagration, that other Resurrection, (the 3d in Reality, tho he calls it his 2d Resurrection, as we see by what he says, Page 349.)

The 3d Resurrection therefore, tho call'd, by him, the Second, he supposes will be just after the *Millennium* is run out; and he reckons, that this will be of those, that never heard of Christ or the Gospel.

For we must remember, that his Notion is this; That those, whom he calls Reprobates, who were the Subjects of the former Resurrection, (tho by him confounded with the first Resurrection of the Saints,) were those that had the Knowledge of the Christian Religion, but liv'd contrary to it.

Now he supposes, that the Design of God, in raising those Heathens and Infidels, who shall be raised after the *Millennium*, (which is the 3d Resurrection, according to his Scheme, tho he calls it the Second only) will be to put them in a salvable State, by revealing Christ and his Gospel to them. For this is the great Spring of his Inquiry, viz. to reconcile two opposite scriptural Notions, (as he thinks them to be, unless solv'd by this supposed Resurrection,) viz. That none can be sav'd by Christ, who have not the explicate Knowledge of him; and that, at the same time, Christ must be the Saviour of all Men; so as to furnish them with the formal and distinct Knowledge of his Gospel; and so, that if they perish, it must be thro' their own Perverseness.

verseness. That both these are his Principles, is plain from what he says, Page 350, 351. as well as from his preceeding Discourse, to which he refers his Readers.

The 4th and last Resurrection, (which he calls the 3^d) is, (as I observed before,) *That of Gog and Magog*; and out of which he excludes all good Men.

But here he grossly contradicts himself. For, in the same Paragraph, he says, that some of the Heathens raised in the former Resurrection, which is to be after the *Millennium*, shall be saved. And yet he concludes, and that with a [Therefore] too, that *he excludes all that shall be saved from this last Resurrection*, Page 367. surely, he was in a strange Dream when he wrote this. For he ought to have concluded the very contrary of this, viz. That [Therefore] *there shall be a Resurrection at last, of those Gentiles that believ'd before*, (unless he will make those Heathens, raised before, to be, at once, in a State of Trial here on Earth, and yet immortal;) *as well as of the wicked Rabble, who are called Gog and Magog*. Or otherwise, he ought to have made some Provision for those *Gentiles*, that were raised before, in a State of Probation; that such of them, at least, might be raised from the Dead to Glory, as believed, during that Period, and who died again before the last Resurrection of *Gog and Magog*. And, if he had done so, (as was but necessary to have been done, pursuant to his Scheme) we should have had *Five* Resurrections in all. Now my arguing, in this, is unanswerable. For those Heathens, who were raised only after the *Millennium*, cannot be confounded with the former Sorts, who were raised before the *Millennium*; both upon the Account of the Distance of the Time of, at least, a thousand Years; and upon the Account of the different Nature of this Resurrection from the Former; those, before the *Millennium*, being raised to Glory or Misery; and those, after the *Millennium*, to a new State of Probation here on Earth, under the Means of the Gospel. Seeing therefore *those Gentiles*, who are to rise to be in a like State to that, which we

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in *Britain* and *elsewhere*, are now in; and who therefore must die as well as we, and be rewarded or punished as they behave, in like manner; and seeing he reckons it certain, that some of those *Gentiles* will believe and be saved; and yet does exclude them from rising at the last Resurrection: It is certain, that either they must rise by themselves, or not at all. I must therefore ingenuously say, that so confused a Scheme I never yet met with, from so ingenuous a Man, as Mr. *Staynoe* is reckon'd to be, and appears to be, by some things in the Discourse preceding this Inquiry.

But the main thing I have to do with him, is to shew the Weakness of that Foundation, which he builds up that Resurrection upon, (the 3^d, in order, tho called the 2^d by him,) which is to be of *Gentiles* and *Heathens* that never heard of *Christ*, in order to their being brought under a new State of Trial, by having the Gospel of *Christ* to be revealed to them; and which the Author reckons will be after the *Millennium* is over, and of which he treats, Page 344, &c. and Page 349, &c.

Now the only Thing, upon which he founds his Notion of this Resurrection, is the Expression of *John*, Rev. 20. 5. *But the rest of the Dead lived not until the 1000 Years were finished.* This Expression, he says, is brought in, in a sort of *Parenthesis*: Which I readily grant. But when he adds, (Page 345, 346. That this Expression is *Proleptical*, and that it ought to be removed (in explaining the Context) from the Place wherein it stands, and be placed between the 6 and the 7th Verse, I say, that this is *gratis dictum*, a mere precarious Supposition, without any Authority, Reason or Reading to back it. Besides that, were it indeed granted, that the Text should run on, in his Method; he were still as far from having any Ground for this his Resurrection, as before. For there is, indeed, an Account of *Satan's* being let loose, after the *Millennium*, to deceive the Nations; as well as an Account, that the

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rest of the Dead, (who were not raised with the Martyrs, before the Millennium,) lived not, until the thousand Years were finished. But, *quid hoc ad Romam?* What of all this? As long as there is no Account of two Resurrections; or of any immediate Resurrection, just as the Millennium expires; far less of any separate Resurrection then of such Gentiles, as had never heard of Christ and the Gospel. So that no more can be deduced from these Words, even when plac'd in his Order, than this; that we are given to know, that, when John spoke of a Resurrection of Christ's Martyrs, he was not speaking of the last General Resurrection, but of a first and special one. And therefore, as soon as he had said, *This is the first Resurrection*, he immediately adds in a Parenthesis, *But the rest of the Dead lived not, until the 1000 Years were finished*: Which is as much as if he had said, *But let none mistake me, for I am not speaking of the last general Resurrection; for that is not to be before, but after the Millennium.*

And indeed so plain and obvious is this, that these very Words which he founds upon, contain a Refutation of the whole of what he advances on this Head: For, if the rest of the Dead are certainly opposed to the Martyrs that rose again before the Millennium; and if, as he says, all the Saints, that were dead before the Millennium, rose at that time: It follows, that by [*The rest of the Dead, &c.*] we are to understand all the Wicked that died before the Millennium, as well as after it. Now this over-turns three main Points of his Scheme, and consequently the whole of it, in as far as he differs from me. For, (1.) It over-turns his second, or as he calls it, first Resurrection of Christian Reprobates, whom he supposes to be raised from their Graves, before the Millennium, tho after the Resurrection of Christ's Martyrs: For not only is there no Account of the rising of any Reprobates then; but such an Account, as is inconsistent with, and subversive of any such Notion. (2.) It over-turns his other Resurrection of such Gentiles, as never heard of Christ,

and who died before the *Millennium*, tho not raised till after it : For it is plain, that the Words are general, including all that ever had died, excepting only those eminent Saints, who were made Partakers of the first special Resurrection. (3.) It over-turns his Notion of the last Resurrection ; out of which he excludes all good Men, not only without any Shadow of Reason, but in Opposition to the plain Current of Scripture ; for which we need only compare, *1 Cor. 15. 23. 1 Thess. 4. 16.* with *Rev. 20. 11, &c.*

But further, his Scheme involves these Absurdities. (1.) That some Men are to be raised, without any immediate or direct Reference to Judgment and an eternal State, but so as to be brought into a salvable State, (having, it seems, been no more in a salvable State before this, than the very Devils) in order to live, as we do now ; and consequently to die again, in order to rise again ; and consequently, in order then (after their second Resurrection,) to be judged, in order to be eternally rewarded or punished. Which is a Notion, not only unknown in Scripture, but so awkward, in the very Proposal of it, that it is not a little odd to think, how it could ever enter into any Man's Head. (2.) It is no less odd and contradictory to Scripture, to suppose the Conflagration of the World to be prior to the *Millennium*, and to the second Resurrection also, viz. that of Christian Reprobates, as well as prior to the third and fourth Resurrections. But it is endless, either to consider or refute Wildness and Confusion, — I shall therefore only say further ;

(1.) That *two Resurrections*, and no more, are plainly set down in *Rev. 20. 4, &c.* viz. 1. The *special Resurrection*, not indeed of all good Men that shall be saved, but of the most eminent Saints and Martyrs of Christ ; which is to commence with the *Millennium*, or rather to precede it. 2. The *general Resurrection* of all the rest of the Dead, whether good or bad ; after the *Millennium* is over ; together with the Wars and Devastations of Gog and Magog ; to whose Regnancy, in

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Conjunction with the Duration of the World, an end is to be put, by the general Conflagration, *Rev.* 20. 8, 9, 10. which is to be followed by the last and general Judgment, *ver.* 11, 12, &c. which it seems Mr. Stajnoe did either altogether over-look, or forget, when he wrote his *Inquiry*.

(2.) That, at the *General Resurrection*, all those Men, whether good or bad, that did not rise before the *Millennium*, as I have said, are to be raised, as the Scripture assures us, *1 Thess.* 4. 15, 16, 17. not to mention other Places. Therefore, 1. Those Men, who, tho not so eminent as to obtain the special Reward, by being raised before the *Millennium*, yet were Righteous, in the main, shall be then made alive from the Dead; together with those that liv'd and dy'd, during the Continuance of the *Millennium*; as also together with those that liv'd and dy'd after it, *viz.* between the Expiration of the *Millennium*, and the *General Conflagration*: I say, all those are to be raised at the end of Time, when Christ comes as universal Judge. And together with them, when raised, shall all the Saints, who shall be then alive, admit an immortalizing Change, and shall thus come, together with them, to be caught up, to meet Christ, and his formerly raised Saints, (as well as Angels,) in the Air, *viz.* both the Old Testament Saints, raised after Christ's Resurrection, and the New Testament ones, who were raised before the *Millennium*. 2. And when all the Saints are seated with Christ, in the Air, surrounding his Throne; and when from his Light and Fire, as the *Shechinah*, this lower World is set on Fire, and the combustible Matter thereof, being kindled this way, increases the Conflagration, by innumerable Eruptions, from vast *Vulcano's*, such as *Hecla*, *Etna* and *Vesuvius*: Then shall the Wicked be raised up, with Terror, as if they were already in Hell. But their being rendered immortal, and their being waisted upwards into the Air, at a vast Distance from the Effects of the Conflagration, tho within View of it; will render them

them capable of being distinctly heard, judged and sentenc'd.

And this is that rational Scheme, which I presume humbly to offer to the World, as the only genuine and consistent Account of this weighry Subject, which I propos'd to discuss, as far as my Thoughts can reach it, by way of Deduction from Scripture.

And now, I question not but that every one will be apt to conclude, that I have said enough in answer to this *first Inquiry*. And indeed I think that I have sufficiently prov'd it, as far as the Nature of the Subject will allow. But, I hope it will not be tedious to the Reader, if I proceed to one Step further with him; if it were only, that I may come back to my Text, with new Advantage. In order therefore to this;

4thly. I desire, that the Text, in *Phil. 2. 11.* may be further considered. For I am very much mistaken, if we do not find some considerable, tho' short Hint, of the first and special Resurrection therein.

For this End, let us observe, that the Greek Word, which the Apostle makes use of here, and which our Version renders, *the Resurrection*, is not the usual Word made use of that way, but a peculiar one. For Paul does not say; *if by any means I might attain, εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν, unto the Resurrection*, but εἰς τὴν Ἑανάστασιν, (into the meaning whereof we must therefore enquire) of *the Dead*.

And indeed it has hitherto been the Opinion of all Criticks and Interpreters without the Exception of one; that this Word is not to be found again, in all the New Testament. Nor dare I venture positively to assert, that they have been all under an Error in this Assertion of theirs. However I hope I may be allowed to say, that it is not improbable, but that the Apostle uses this Word, in the like Sense, viz. as denoting a *Prior and special Resurrection*, in one place more; tho' the Conciseness of his Stile may have occasion'd After-Scribes, to use the Word *disjunctively*, which I am apt to think he himself wrote *conjunctively*, as here in our Text.

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The Place I refer to, is Rom. i. 4. where he says, that Christ was declared to be the Son of God, with Power, according to the Spirit of Holiness, *ἡ δὲ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐκ νεκρῶν*, which we render, by the Resurrection from the Dead. Where one, that compares this and the Original, is non-plust to find no mention made at all of what follows in the Greek, viz. of these words, of Jesus Christ our Lord. And a Man is no less surprized, when he finds, that our Interpreters have render'd them indeed, not as the concluding Words of the 4th Verse, but as the first Words of the 3d Verse. Which I confess is such an Inversion, as I know nothing parallel to it, in any Translation in the World. For, according to the Greek, the Context runs thus; Paul a Servant of Jesus Christ, a called Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God; (which he had promised before by his Prophets in the Holy Scriptures;) concerning his own Son, (who was made of the Seed of David according to the Flesh) even him that was declared the Son of God, in the Power, (by the Spirit of Holiness) of the Resurrection of the Dead of Jesus Christ our Lord. For if we do but put these words, by the Spirit of Holiness, in a Parenthesis, to answer the first Parenthesis, in ver. 2. we shall soon see the Connexion clear. And what could be more proper, than for the Apostle, after he had mention'd Christ as promised by the Prophets, to make application here, by adding, ver. 4. He was declared actually to be the Son of God, by the Spirit of Holiness; The rest of the Verse being designed to shew us, how he was declared, by the Spirit of Holiness to be the Son of God, viz. in or by the Power of the Resurrection of Christ's Dead; which was then, when he himself rose from the dead, and when he rais'd up those Saints, mentioned, Matth. 27. 52. who are elegantly said, by way of Emphasis and Peculiarity to be Christ's Dead, or the Dead of Jesus Christ our Lord. And indeed this was the exact Verification of that eminent Prophecy, which was mention'd before, viz. Isa. 26. 19. Thy dead Men shall live: Together with my dead Body shall they arise, &c. Justly therefore might

Paul say, that what was promised by the Prophets, was now fulfilled by the same Spirit of Holiness, which inspired them to foretell such things; this Spirit having now declared Christ to be the Son of God by that Power, by which, not only he himself, but his own Dead also were raised up to Life again. And had not our Interpreters been altogether ignorant of my Notion of this special Resurrection, I do not think they could have been so confounded, as it is plain they were, when they translated this Piece of Scripture. And indeed I must say further, that the Ignorance of the two special Resurrections (*viz.* that, after *Christ's Resurrection*, of the most eminent Old Testament-Saints, and that, before the *Millennium*, of the most eminent ones under the New Testament) has been the Occasion of the Confusion of all Interpreters hitherto, not only in their Interpretations of these first Verses of the Epistle to the *Romans*, but in their Glosses upon abundance of other Places of Scripture. And, as I have given a Specimen of this already, in several Hints, in what I have said above: So I may discover this more fully, before I have ended this Dissertation. But, to return; if my Interpretation of *ver. 4.* be received, which I think is the only natural and plain one; then my Conjecture must be true, that the Apostle did at first write, not *Ἐξ ὧν ἡ ζωὴ νεκρῶν, &c.* but *Ἐξ ὧν ἡ ζωὴ νεκρῶν ἰνὸς Χριστοῦ, &c.* So that the Connexion of the whole 4th Verse is what I represented it to be. And thus the Sense can be this only; that *Christ was declared to be the Son of God, (viz. by the Spirit of Holiness or the Holy Spirit) in the Power of the Resurrection of the dead Saints (as well Body) of Jesus Christ our Lord.* For the Expression is no less expressive than concise; seeing every body knows that *ἀνίστασθαι νεκρῶν*, is the common Scriptural Phrase, that is used to denote the *Resurrection* of dead Men, *νεκρῶν* denoting *literally* a dead Person, whether it be used *substantively* or *adjectively*. But now, if my Conjecture hold, (as I see nothing that can be said of any great Force against it) there is something very peculiar in

it. And as I am now upon a Critical Survey of the meaning of *Ἀνάστασις*; so I shall only previously say this here, that it must, I think, denote as much as this amounts to, *viz. a Prior, special and eminent Resurrection*. For certainly, such was the Resurrection of Christ himself, and such also (in comparison of the last and general one) was that of those Saints who arose out of their Graves, after Christ's Resurrection was over. And I am much mistaken, if this Text, *Rom. 1.4.* thus explained, be not of great use to help us to understand something of the peculiar Notion, which the Apostle labours to convey to our Minds by this Word *Ἀνάστασις*, in *Phil. 3. 11.* where all Copies agree, in Writing it one way, and all Interpreters likewise in this General Truth; that something very peculiar is meant by it.

But to proceed; let us remember, that this is an approved Rule of Criticks in the Greek Tongue; *Ἐν*, in Compositione, non solum ornatum denotare, sed etiam significationem Augere: i. e. That the Greek Particle *Ἐν*, when it is joined to a Word, so as to make it a Compound, is not be look'd upon to be so joined merely for the sake of Ornament, but so as to increase and enlarge the Meaning of that Word with which it is joined. Of the Truth of this Rule we have innumerable Instances. But I am not willing to detain the Reader, by such kind of Speculations; with which those that please may entertain themselves plentifully, if they please, from what our best and largest Lexicons will furnish them with; E. G. let these Verbs be consider'd, *Ἐκφαίρομαι, Ἐκναδύομαι, Ἐκνακολουμέω, Ἐκποσέλλω, Ἐκνεύρισκω, Ἐκπαροῦμαι, Ἐκνίσταμαι, Ἐκναφέρω, &c.* together with these Nouns, *Ἐκέρυθρον, Ἐξωχρον, &c.* And hence we have Reason to conclude, that the Apostle did purposely choose to use the word *Ἀνάστασις*, to put us upon this Conclusion; that it was not a bare *ἀνάστασις*, that he was now speaking of, which did indifferently denote any sort of Resurrection, in a general Sense, and which did, when applied to the Resurrection of

dead Men, equally take in both the Resurrection of the Wicked and of the Godly.

And, seeing the Apostle's Notion is so very singular, and that no Heathen had ever the least Idea of this matter; hence we can expect little or no Illustration of his meaning, by any or all the fam'd Authors of Greece. And indeed I cannot find, that ever this Word was used almost at all by the best Grecian Writers. I find it once indeed made use of by *Polybius*, *Lib. 2.* (nor can I remember to have read it any where else.) But then he means by it, *Expulsion* or *Everſion*; in that Sense, wherein a Man is ſaid, to drive another out of his House, or Estate, or to overturn him, by forcing him out of his Pretentions or Attempts.

The Verbs *ἐξαιίστημι* and *ἐξαιίσταμαι*, are, I confess, pretty often to be met with: But then they are used in such Senses, as afford little light, as to this peculiar Notion, which we are speaking of, which is no where to be found but in the New Testament. The nearest Signification, that either of these Verbs can be supposed to have to the Apostle's Notion in the General, is when the Author denotes thereby, to *arise out of ones former Seat, or Habitation, or out of sleep, and ones Bed*; or when the meaning is, to *exalt* or *raise a Man to an higher Sphere*, and that so as singularly to prefer him above other Men: or (which answers the Apostle's Notion best of all) when the Word is used to *ſlit* or *remove*, in the Sense wherein the Latins say, *castra movere*, to remove from one Camp to another: or when the Author speaks by way of Pathetick Exhortation, as *Isocrates* seems to do, when he says, *ἐξαιίστασον ἡμῶν ποτήριον*, *arise* (i. e. arise quickly) *before thou get'st drunk*; i. e. break off from thy Cups, without delay, by taking this and the other Sip more.

Nor have we any more Satisfaction from the *Septuagint Version* of the Old Testament; where I find no use made at all of this Word of the Apostle; nor indeed of the Verbs, which I mention'd just now, excepting that the former occurs in one Passage; but in

in such a Sense, as is quite foreign to our purpose, and serves not in the least, to illustrate the Apostle's Meaning. Those that please, for Curiosity's sake, to know what I refer to, may compare the Hebrew Text with the *Septuagint Version*, of *Gen. 19. 22, 24.*

Having therefore no Assistance, this way, from the Classick Greek Authors, nor from any or all the Critics and Lexicographers, that have been the most industrious and successful, in reviving and cultivating that Language; and finding as little Satisfaction from the *Septuagint*, I betook my self to the Greek Fathers; moved by this Reason, that tho neither Jews nor Gentiles could be supposed to have any thing like a distinct Notion of the special Resurrection which the Apostle speaks of, and that consequently it could be no wonder, that they had no peculiar Word or Phrase to express such a thing by; yet it might be rationally expected, that the Christian Doctors, whose Native Language the Greek Tongue was, might furnish us with some Critical Account of this word of the Apostle, in order to explain the Specialty of his Notion. But all my pains this way were in vain; not one of all the Antient Greek Fathers ever dreaming of any such special Resurrection, but only of the general one at the last Day. So that, tho I have already proved the Truth of a special Resurrection from the Apostolical Writings; yet it seems that the many Persecutions, that the Christian Church labour'd under, for the three first Ages, had so universally obliterated the Notion of *Paul*, as to this Point, from the Minds of Men, that no Vestage of it remains now in any Writing, since the Days of the Apostle *John*. And when afterwards Christianity prevail'd under *Constantine*, we find that the Authority of the Great *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and President of the *Nicene Synod*, occasion'd the very Title of the Book of the Revelation to be call'd in Question. And, tho this was at last decided; yet that dark Book was little studied and less understood. So that we need not wonder, that subsequent Doctors (of whom we have hardly

ly one, that can be thought to have been a judicious or exact Critick) never were able to revive the Apostolical Notion of a special Resurrection. Which we have the less Reason to think strange of, if we are acquainted with Church History. For there we see, that the exact Knowledge of the Bible, was the least Part of the Study or Care of their great Men: For Prelacy and secular Titles, Authority, Grandeur and Riches, had got so into their Heads, that Learning and Religion too, were no otherwise minded by most of them, than as they might be of use, to give them a Name and Handle, to aspire higher in this present World. Hence it came to pass, that Christianity lost Ground daily; so as to sink, at length, into the Abyss of Papal Errours and Superstitions. No wonder then, if so considerable a Man as *Theophylact*, should give us this Gloss, (Page 178.) upon *Matth. 27. 52.* (where the Account is given of the Resurrection of many of the Saints) *Πρόσῃλον ὅτι πάλιν τεθνήκασιν, &c.* It is manifest that they died again. Some indeed say, that after Christ rose, they rose also, and that they did not die afterwards. But I do not see, that this Opinion ought to be imbraced. But, as I am glad, that some of old were so judicious, as to have a contrary Notion, to that of *Theophylact*: So I am more pleas'd to find, that the ancient and judicious Author of the Book of *Orthodox Questions*, commonly ascribed to *Justin Martyr*, and indeed not unworthy of such an Author, has given us the genuine Sense of that Passage; when he says, *Quest. 85. Page 44. Edit. Paris, 'Οὐδὲ ἐτελεύτησαν πάλιν, ἀλλὰ μένοντες ἀθανάτοι, &c.* Therefore those Persons (being raised from the State of the Dead) did not die again, but do now remain in Immortality, together with *Enoch* and *Elias*; with whom they are in Paradise, waiting until the last Resurrection be over, and the universal Restitution of things be accomplish'd, wherein, as the Apostle says, all Men shall be changed. Adding this judicious Remark; That, (tho those Saints be now in Paradise, both in Soul and Body, yet) none is yet so raised from the Dead, as to partake

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of that incorruptible and immortal Life, (*viz.* in the fullest and most compleat Sense, so as to be in Heaven with God, which is reserved to the Consummation of all things,) *excepting Christ only*: It being his Prerogative to be (there, in order to approve himself) the *πρωτόγονος*, the Raiser of Men from the Dead, and the *ἀπαρχὴ*, the Supreme Ruler (as I have (*n*) elsewhere explained these Words) of those that sleep, *viz.* in their Graves.

But however, finding my self still disappointed, in the main, as to any Satisfaction, from Christian Antiquity, with respect to the special Resurrection, of which I am discoursing; I thought I would search our best modern Criticks and Expositors. But, in doing so, I found my self equally disappointed as before. I confess, I was not a little pleased with what *Grotius* says, in his short, but learned and judicious Notes on *Phil.* 3. 11. where he observes, (1.) That *ἐν πᾶσι* (which we render, *If by any means*) does denote, that the Thing, which Paul was desirous to attain, was both difficult and uncertain, as to its being reach'd. (2.) That *καταναλῆναι ἐἰς τὶ*, denotes to attain to such or such a Thing (*viz.* so as to be possessed of it;) for which end he refers to the Sense of the same Word, in *1 Cor.* 14. 36. & *Eph.* 4. 13. (3.) That the Apostle chose rather to use the Word *ἐξανάστασις*, than *ἀνάστασις*, because he would have us to observe, that he was speaking of that full Resurrection, which no sort of Death or Evil does, or can follow. Which Word, says he, answers to the Hebrew Word, *חַיָּה*. (4.) That whereas the common Copies do only say, *ἐξανάστασιν ἐκ νεκρῶν*; his Manuscript, which he often quotes, reads *ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*.

Now, as I have already materially confirm'd his 1st and 2^d Criticism: So I shall consider and improve this 4th Observation, joynly with the 3^d, which I am now upon. But, in the mean time, let me observe, what

(*n*) *Christol.* Lib. 2. Chap. 6. Page 211.

a Lofs that learned Man was at, by reason of his not knowing the special Resurrection. For, tho his Notion of the genuin Sense of ἐξανάστασις be exactly true, and, *in general*, the same with mine; yet, by reason of his Ignorance of the special Resurrection, he is forc'd to assert an obvious Contradiction; when he supposes, in his 3^d Observation, that no more was meant by *Paul*, than a Concern to rise, at last, to Happiness and Glory; at the same time, that he makes him, in the 1st and 2^d Observations (taken in their Connexion) to be *uncertain* whether he should ever attain to be thus happy; which (as I have already demonstrated) is altogether false, and refuted by the Apostle himself, even in this very Epistle. For, as I have said again and again, it was not possible for the Apostle so much as to call this in question. So that he must mean a special Resurrection, prior to the general one, and inclusive of a peculiar Reward; which was to him, indeed, certain, as to the thing in general, as being attainable; but was not, certain, as to his own attaining it; tho he might conditionally expect it, or hope for it; provided that he acted as he ought to do, towards reaching it. Of this, therefore, he might be uncertain, at the same time, that he had a Plerophory of Assurance, as to a Resurrection to Life eternal, in the general. Whence it is plain, that this Notion, which I contend for, is the only one, by which the Apostle can be supposed to speak consistently with himself.

Having therefore experienc'd, by all my Inquiries into modern Expositors of the New Testament, as well as by my laborious Searches into ancient Authors of all sorts: That I was not to expect any Light, this way, from Men: I turn'd my self, (abstractly from all these) to the sacred Oracles themselves, and particularly to this very Text. And indeed, I have eminently found, by doing so, that the Scripture is its own best Interpreter; especially in things of this kind.

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What therefore I have observed, this way, I present the World with the Result of, in the following Gradation.

1. That I find that ἀνάστασις, *the Resurrection*, (1.) Is sometimes used *Metonymically*, for the Author thereof, as in *John* 11. 25. And, (2.) Sometimes *Metaphorically*, for Conversion, or a spiritual Vivication of the Soul, as in *Eph.* 5. 14. (3.) Sometimes for being vivified and raised, to farther and more eminent Degrees of Sanctity; for so I understand, *Rom.* 8. 11. as I think the Context will make good. And, (4.) Sometimes *Synecdochically*, or by way of Eminency, for the Resurrection of good Men, in Opposition to the Resurrection of the Wicked, as in *John* 6. 40.

2. That *ordinarily*, where ἀνάστασις is used properly to denote a Resurrection, or the Resurrection, and nothing is added to limit its meaning; it does signify the general Resurrection of all Men at the last Day; as in *Matth.* 22. 23, 28, 31. *Mark* 12. 18, 23. *Luke* 20. 27, 33. *Acts* 17. 18.

3. That when the Word ἀνάστασις is not simply made use of, but with the Addition of *καὶ καλῶν* or *καὶ καλοῦ*, I find that as it does sometimes denote the Resurrection both of good and bad Men; so it does sometimes denote the Resurrection of good Men only. For, if in the 1st. Sense, it be used, *Acts* 24. 15, 21. *1 Cor.* 15. 12, 13, 21. *Heb.* 6. 2. It is certain, that this Phrase is used in the 2^d. Sense also, in an appropriate manner, so as to denote the Resurrection of good Men only, in Opposition to that of the Wicked; as is plain, *1 Cor.* 15. 42, &c.

4. That when we read of *the Resurrection of the Just*, *Luke* 14. 14. or of *the better Resurrection*, *Heb.* 11. 35. or of *the Resurrection of Life*, *John* 5. 29. We are obliged to take such Expressions, not only in an exclusive Sense, to that of the Wicked, (which is called, *The Resurrection of Damnation*, or of Judgment, *John* 5. 29.) but also in so general a Sense, in relation to good Men, as that we ought not to appropriate any of these Epithets,

thers, either to the special Resurrection before the Millennium, or to that last Resurrection of other good Men, at the end of Time.

5. But then I cannot but think it, at least, highly probable; That where-ever we read, ἀνάστασιν τῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν, the Spirit of God designs to give us either a more direct or more oblique Hint of the special Resurrection of the more eminent Saints. To give Instances of this, let the following Passages be duly considered. And, (1.) I cannot think, that less than this is meant, *Luke 20. 35, 36.* where, after the Sadducees had spoken of the Resurrection in general, and therefore of the last Resurrection, inclusive both of good Men and bad, (which was the Notion of the Pharisees, as we see *Acts 23. 6. Comp. with Chap. 24. 15.* and which therefore the Sadducees argue against;) our Saviour takes Occasion here to suppose indeed the Certainty of the general Resurrection, but to describe the special Resurrection, (for the Proof of this, was Demonstration of the Reality of the Thing in general:) which he does, after this manner. *The Children of this present Age, or (as our Version has it) World, do indeed marry, and are given in Marriage. But they who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that happy Age, (viz. to obtain the peculiar Reward of the most eminent Saints,) & τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν, and the special Resurrection, even that which is to be out from the other dead Persons, (who are not yet to be privileg'd so as to be raised up;) such Persons neither marry, nor are given in Marriage. Neither can they die any more; (i. e. be liable to the second Death, as the far greatest part of those Men shall be, who shall rise at the great Day; so that this is a parallel Expression to that in *Rev. 20. 5.*) For they are ἰσῆλοι the Angels Equals, (from that time forth,) being now become God's Sons, by reason of their becoming the Children of the (first and special) Resurrection. (2.) And I think it equally probable, that a special Resurrection, (tho not that at the Millennium) is pointed at, *Acts 4. 2.* For the Account is this, Peter and John having miracu-*

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lously cured the Man, that had been lame from the Womb, Chap. 3. 1, 2, &c. which they ascribe wholly to the Power of Christ, ver. 12, 13. take Occasion, to preach up Christ's Resurrection, ver. 14, 15, &c. wherein it is highly probable, that they took some Notice of his having raised many of the Saints also, mentioned, Matth. 27. 52. Now both Christ's Resurrection, and the Resurrection of those Saints, being recent in Mens Minds, and well attested by Eye and Ear Witnesses; it needs not appear strange, that when the Priests and the Captain of the Temple came upon them, Chap. 4. 1. that the *Sadducees*, who made up a great Part of that Company, should be grieved, that these Apostles should teach the People, and preach, thro' Jesus, the Resurrection, τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, even a special Resurrection from the Dead, thro' Christ, as the efficient Cause. For, as I said before, it was the common Notion of the Jews, (excepting only the Sect of the *Sadducees*,) that when the Messiah came, there would be an eminent Resurrection of many from the Dead. No wonder then, if the *Sadducees* were alarm'd, to hear both of Christ's Resurrection, and of the Resurrection of so many others raised up, thro' his Power; especially now when this Doctrine was published, in so publick a Manner, and to such a Multitude of the common People; and confirmed by so indisputable a Miracle: For they knew very well, that their Rivals, the *Pharisees*, had the fairest Opportunity imaginable, to establish themselves, this way, upon their Ruin. (3.) And, if this be admitted, I cannot but think, that good old *Simeon*, who believed Christ to be the promised Messiah, and was, no doubt, well acquainted with the true Jewish Opinion, taken from the Prophetical Writings, that his Coming would bring along with it vast Changes; and particularly, that as many would be ruin'd by their Infidelity, so he would evidence his Character and Commission by this Miracle, (as well as others,) viz. of his raising many Saints from the Dead: I say, I cannot but think, from these Considerations, that the good

good old Man had this very thing in his Eye, when he said, *Luke 2. 34. Behold, this Child is set for the Fall,* *ἡ ἀνάστασις τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,* and for the Resurrection of many in Israel. For we are told, not only that he was a just and devout Man, who waited for the Consolation of Israel, which was to come by the Messiah; but likewise, that the Holy Ghost was upon him, and that it was revealed unto him, that he should not see Death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ, and that he came in the Spirit, into the Temple, ver. 25, 26, 27. where, under a special Prophetical Spirit, he uttered this memorable Prophecie. (4.) It is also highly probable to me, that Christ has his Eye upon the two special Resurrections which I contend for, (*viz.* that of the Old Testament Saints, Historically related, *Matth. 27. 52.* and that of the New Testament ones, Prophetically spoken of, *Rev. 20. 3, 4, 5.*) but more directly upon the First of these; when he was about to raise *Lazarus*: For it was consonant to that particular Resurrection, which was to be Emblematical of the special Resurrections, which were to follow, as well as demonstrative of Christ's Authority and Power, to raise whom he pleased, and when he pleased; to give some Hint, upon this special Occasion, of what he was further to do. When therefore *Martha* says, *John 11. ver. 21. Lord, if thou hadst been here, my Brother had not died*: Christ answers, ver. 23. *Thy Brother shall rise again.* *Martha* having no Notion of any other Resurrection, but the last general one, replies, ver. 24. *I know that he shall rise again in the Resurrection of the last Day.* No, says Christ, ver. 25, 26. *Some shall rise sooner, of which I will give a Demonstration very quickly. For I am the Resurrection and the Life,* (as having Power to raise whom I will, and when I will, without being confined to raise none before the end of Time; therefore) *He that believeth in me,* (or, a Believer in, *i. e.* so eminent an one as *Lazarus* was) *tho he were (never so really) dead; yet he shall live again,* (long before the general Resurrection.) *And whosoever liveth (or is alive now) and believeth* (eminently,

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(eminently, as thy Brother did) in me, (tho he must indeed die once, as it is appointed for all to do, yet) shall not continue dead, ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι; for ever, or to the end of Time, (but shall rise sooner.) *Believest thou this?* Martha seems to have been exceedingly surpriz'd at this new Doctrine; but not being capable, rightly, to comprehend his Meaning, vents her Faith, in general, thus, ver. 27. *I believe that thou art Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the World.* Which is as much as to say, Lord, tho I cannot comprehend the Meaning of thy Words, in particular, as to Resurrections, previous to the general one; yet I believe, that thou art the true Messiah, and the Son of God; and therefore capable to make good thy Words, when and how thou pleasest.

Now, 6. Having premised this *Climax* or Gradation of these *Five* Steps, is there not just Reason to think, That the 4th Observation, or Chriticism of *Grotius*, respects a special Resurrection, previous to the general one. For, besides that his Manuscript, which he often quotes, reads, in *Phil. 3. 11.* *The Resurrection τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, i. e. which is out from the Dead;* and therefore a Resurrection special to some, in Contradistinction to those, that are still kept to remain longer in the separate State, even until the general Resurrection; we find that the Famous *Alexandrian Manuscript* hath also preserved to us the same reading. So that, if we come now to put all the Force together, which the Apostle's Words contain, in this our Text, we shall find it to be such, as that there is no Parallel to it, in the New Testament; I mean in reference to the Resurrection; and far less any thing to compare with it, in any other Writing. And therefore,

In the 7th and last Place, having got up to this Expression, as the highest Step; Let us observe, as every way memorable; how wonderfully all the other Steps are included, as so many Pleonasm, additional one to another, in this one Expression; but with superadded Energy. For, (1.) Here is ἀνάστασις, a Resurrection;
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on ; (2.) Here we read ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν, but with greater force still ; (3.) For here we read ἀνάστασιν ἐκ νεκρῶν ; (4.) And that with the additional Energy, of adding the Particle τὴν before ἐκ νεκρῶν ; Nay, (5.) By using it twice, viz. by prefixing it also before ἀνάστασιν ; (6.) And I may add, that it is not simply said νεκρῶν, but τῶν νεκρῶν. But, (7.) The main Force is chiefly discerned, in prefixing the Particle ὅτι before ἀνάστασιν, in making thus a complex Word of it. So that Paul, by joyning all these things, when he says, that he labour'd, *if by any means he might attain to (or run before others, as the best Racer, unto the Mark and peculiar Prize, as he speaks, ver. 12, 13. for indeed κατακτινοῦ ἐς τὴν, &c. signifies as much, and therefore Arias Montanus has justly render'd the first Words thus, Si modo Occurrā ad, &c.) the peculiar or first Resurrection, which is that which is to be out from the rest of the Dead ; as I may justly translate the Force of the Words, as well as understand the Apostle's Sense. So that, if ἐκ νεκρῶν and κατακτινοῦ, together with the Particle ἐς, be considered, in that Emphasis which they carry along with them, as they stand connected with what follows, we have an 8th, a 9th, and a 10th Criticism to inforce the Sense of the whole Verse. But, if after we have carried all these along with us, in our own Minds ; we proceed to make a like critical Survey of the 12th, 13th, and following Verses, both in the Emphasis of each Phrase, and in the Connection and Scope of the whole ; I cannot but presume to think, that every intelligent and unprejudic'd Person must own, that the Apostle could not design to mean less, than what I now contend for.*

And now, tho I think I have said enough upon this Head, to evince the Truth of the Sense of ἀνάστασιν, I hope it may not be unuseful to quote one Passage, besides that of Rom. 1. 4. (mentioned before) where it seems very probable to me, that the Apostle Paul uses the same Word. It is in Acts 26. 22, 23. where Paul concludes his Apology for himself, before Agrippa and Festus,

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Jesus, thus ; Having therefore obtained Help of God, I continue unto this Day, witnessing both to small and great, saying no other things, than those which Moses and the Prophets did say should come, viz. That Christ should suffer, and that he should be *περί τῆς ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*, the First of the special Resurrection of the Dead. For I am sure of this, that the Words run much more smoothly this way, and that the Meaning flows hence more naturally also, than according to the vulgar Reading. If any object, and say ; But Paul cannot mean any special Resurrection ; because he says, that he spoke nothing, but what Moses and the Prophets had spoken of before : I answer, 1. That Paul might have used these words very justly, tho' thy had, indeed, hinted nothing particular of any special Resurrection ; because the Prophets spoke of Christ's Coming, and of his particular Resurrection, as well as of the Resurrection of others in general. For the Apostle might justly explain such general Words, by a particular Reference to Matters of Fact, (as included under the general Notion of a Resurrection,) viz. so as to apply them to, and illustrate them by Christ's own Rising from the Dead, and that special Resurrection of others, mention'd, *Matth. 27. 52.* For tho' the Prophets themselves knew not the full Extent of their own Prophecies, (as it is certain they frequently did not,) yet the Spirit of God knew the same : And Facts, we know, are ever the best Expositors of Prophecies. 2. And besides this general Answer, I might shew that there are several Hints, in the Old Testament Writings, that seem to insinuate a special Resurrection. But I am not willing to swell this Discourse so much, as such Citations, when critically considered, would lead me unto. Let the two Passages therefore, which I cited in the beginning of this Inquiry, serve at present, as Instances of this, viz. *Isa. 26. 19. & Dan. 12. 2, 3.* but especially the first of these ; which I think is full and cogent this way ; especially if that solid and generally approved of Rule of Divines and Expositors be followed, viz. That we

ought never to desert the literal Sense of Texts, unless where an Absurdity, or other necessary Reason does occur to oblige and force us, to think of another sort of Interpretation.

Objection. But, Sir, (may some say,) Tho it is generally true, That the Apostle speaks, not only in his other Epistles, but even in this Epistle to the *Philippians*, with the utmost Assurance, as to his own future Happiness; yet why may we not suppose, that some Cloud might be over the Apostle's Mind, as to this Matter, when he writes what we have in this Third Chapter? For, as he represents himself as under some Cloud, this way, *Rom. 7. 24. O wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from the Body of this Death?* So it seems to be very plain, that he doubted of his Salvation, or was at least uncertain this way, when he says, *1 Cor. 9. 27. I keep under my Body, and subdue it, lest while I preach to others, I my self should be ἀδύναμος, a Reprobate, or, (as our Version renders the Word) a Cast-away.*

Answer. I think I have demonstrated, that as the Apostle was under a constant Plerophory of Assurance, as to Salvation; so that he was eminently so, when he wrote this Epistle to the *Philippians*. And seeing he expressly tells us so, *Chap. 1. 21, 23.* It is a very odd Supposition, that he should be under a Cloud this way, when he comes to write what we have here in *Chap. 3.* Especially seeing he sufficiently insinuates the very contrary of this, even in this Chapter it self, as we see, *ver. 17, & 20, 21.*

But, seeing the Strefs of this unreasonable Supposition is laid upon two Passages taken out of two other Epistles, it is fit that I should examine them. And truly, the 1st Passage has nothing at all in it, to the Purpose. For, tho the Apostle, in his breathing after a farther Conquest over Sin and Lust, says, *Rom. 7. 24. O wretched Man that I am, (to give so much way to vain Thoughts and Temptations,) who shall deliver me (more perfectly) from the Body of this Death; (i. e. the Remainder of Corruption, that is still in me:)* Yet

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that the Apostle did not there call his Grace or Salvation in Question, or so much as hesitate this way, is plain from the Answer, which he returns immediately to his own Question, in *ver. 25. I thank God, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord.* Which, as it shews his Assurance, so the whole of the 8th Chapter following, is a Comment on that short Text. For he begins it thus, *ver. 1, 2, 3. There is therefore now no Condemnation, to them who are in Christ Jesus, &c.* For the Law of the Spirit of Life, in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the Law of Sin and Death. For what the Law could not do, in that it was weak thro' the Flesh, God sending his own Son, hath done, &c. Whence it is plain, that the main Scope of Paul, in *Chap. 7.* is to shew, (in the Example of himself, considered as a Jew and Pharisee,) how impossible it was to obtain Assurance of Salvation, by the Ceremonial Law, without Christ, as it is equally plain, that it is his Scope, in *Chap. 8.* to shew, (in the Example likewise of himself, as he was now a Christian,) how naturally the Assurance of Salvation might be attained, by any serious Person, that had a mind to judge of himself by Gospel Rules. So that this Passage, *Rom. 7. 24.* insinuates the very contrary to that for which it was adduced. For the Apostle, as he intimates his Assurance, even in the 7th *Chap. ver. 15, 17, 20, 22, & 25.* So he triumphs so high this way, in *Chap. 8. ver. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, & 39.* as to insinuate, that he neither was, nor indeed could possibly be, under the least Doubt of Salvation, or under any Fear or Cloud this way.—— But the 2d Passage does look more favourably, I confess, with Respect to the Supposition, which the Objection runs upon: And, indeed, the Apostle's Words, *1 Cor. 9. 27.* are the only ones in all Paul's Writings, that seem, at first View, to militate against my Exposition of *Phil. 3. 11.* and to favour the common one. Let us therefore examine the Meaning of the Words a little more closely. For this end, let us remember, that the Apostle discourses, in *Chap. 7.*

Chap. 8. & Chap. 9. of the Prudence that Christians ought to study, in Relation to the Use of things that were indifferent, tho lawful. When therefore he had given his Advice, as to the Points following, viz. when it was proper to marry, and when to live a single Life, in Chap. 7. and how far Christians might use their Liberty, in eating things offered to Idols, and when and in what respects, they were oblig'd to put a Restraint upon that Liberty, in Chap. 8. He proceeds in Chap. 9. to make Application of this, exemplifying his former Advices, and the Reasons of them, by his own Conduct and Practice this way. Therefore, ver. 1. he says, Am I not an Apostle? Am I not free, as well as others? and ver. 4. Have we not Power to eat and drink? viz. what, when and how we please; and ver. 5. Have we not Power, to use our Liberty to marry, as Cephas and other Apostles have done? and ver. 6. Or I only and Barnabas, have not we Power to forbear working? i. e. in order to get our own Bread; by demanding a Supply from you, this way, as the other Apostles have done. And upon this Subject he runs on, from ver. 6. to ver. 19. From whence he proceeds to shew his Concern to gain Men over to Christianity, by a prudent compliance with innocent Customs, of People of all Sorts and Sects, not standing up rigidly for some things, which tho lawful, were not expedient, in some Companies, because such Usages and Practices were likely to beget Prejudices in Mens Minds, as to the very main Points of Religion it self, the Promotion whereof was his great End and Design. Now as this is plainly the Sum of what he says, ver. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. So he proceeds to illustrate the Reasonableness of this Part of his Conduct, in the sequel of this Chapter, by a Similitude drawn from the Isthmian Solemnities, that were celebrated once in five Years upon the Isthmus of Corinth, which joins Peloponesus to Greece: the particular Place, of these Solemnities, being just by the Temple of Neptune: which was at

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(o) *Cenchrea* (p), a little way from *Corinth*. As therefore, we shall quickly see, when we come to consider, *Phil. 3. 12, 13, &c.* that the Apostle *Paul* does often allude to the *Olympian*, and other Solemnities of *Greece*, so well known unto and so generally frequented by Persons of all Ranks and Sorts, not only from all the Parts of *Greece*, but from all Parts also of the Roman Empire: So, seeing he had liv'd long at *Corinth*, and is writing here to the *Corinthians*, it was reasonable for him, to allude rather to the *Istmiian Games*, than any other; for every Boy of *Corinth* was acquainted with these. But, let us further observe here, (1.) That, of the five Games used there, called the *Quinquertium*, or *Quinquennales Ludi*, *Solin. Cap. 13.* (which were, 1. *Running*, either on Foot, or on Horse-back, or in Chariots. 2. *Throwing the Discus*, i. e. a round Stone made for that purpose. 3. *Leaping or Jumping*. 4. *Wrestling*. 5. *Fighting* either at *Handcuffs* or *Fists*, or with *Battoons* made for that purpose, in imitation of *Fighting* with Broad-Swords;) the Apostle alludes only to three, viz. to *Running*, or *Racing*, ver. 24, 26. to *Wrestling*, ver. 25. and to *Fighting* or *Cuffing*, ver. 26, 27. (2.) That he that run, whether on Foot, or Horseback, or in Chariot, was oblig'd to observe the Laws of *Racing* or *Running*, by keeping within the white Line, by which the Judges of the Games marked out the Path or Compass of Ground within which they were to run; for tho such a Man might win the Race otherwise, he was in hazard still, by any neglect of this kind, of falling short of the Prize; which illustrates the Apostle's Meaning, ver. 26. *I therefore so run, not as uncertainly*; (i. e. as those run, who regard not to keep within the Lines and Marks.) So that when he adds, ver. 27. that he acted, with this Caution, and not as uncertainly, lest otherwise he might come to be *αδολύμω*; it is easy to see, in what respect he means this, viz. that he acted

(o) Of which *Mela* speaks, *Lib. 2. Cap. 2. lin. 75.* In eo (viz: Istmo) est Oppidum, *Cenchrea Ludis*, quos *Istmicos* vocant, celebre.
(p) For *Cenchrea* was not above 70 Furlongs from *Corinth*.

with this Concern, lest the *βραβεύται*, i. e. the Judges of the Solemnities, should adjudge him a *Cast-away*, or one that had not run so, as to deserve the Prize. For *ἀδύναμις* signifies no more here, than to denote a Man's being rejected, by having the Prize adjudged from him, by reason either of his not coming up, the first, to the Mark, or because of his transgressing the Laws of the Race, and so by coming up, the first, to the Prize, only thro' his taking a shorter compass, than he ought to have done. (3.) That he that fought by *Cuffing*, or otherwise, used to prepare himself for the Exercise, by a *σκιωμαχία*, i. e. by thrusting or throwing out his Arms into the Air, as it were to bid defiance to his Enemy, as well as to exert the Vigour of his Arms, against his coming to close with him. In allusion to which Custom, Paul says, ver. 26. *So fight I, but not as he does that beats the Air.* But when the two Combatants in-gag'd heartily, to maul one another by Blows; each of them strove to beat the other on the Face, and especially on the Eyes, as the most sensible and tender Parts. In allusion to which the Apostle, ver. 27. uses the Phrase, *ἀλλ' ὑπωπιάζω*, I beat my own Body under the Eye, &c. i. e. I treat my Body (viz. the Body of Sin and Death; for this must be his meaning in Conformity to his own Dialect, Rom. 7. 24. Col. 2. 11. especially if we consider, in how opposite a manner to this he speaks of the natural Body, Eph. 5. 29. and 1 Cor. 6. 19.) as my Adversary, in order to conquer the same, and that so, as to level at the tenderest part most, by mortifying that Lust, that is naturally most dear to me. (4.) That it was the Custom of the *Athletæ*, who were to combat together, at the Exercise of *Wrestling*, to observe a set Diet, both as to the Quantity and Quality of their Meat; using nothing but those things, that had a Tendency to render them light, nimble and agile, and abstaining from clogging, heavy and dull things. Unto this the Apostle refers, ver. 25. when he says, *That every one that striveth for Mastery (in wrestling) is temperate in all things.* (5.) That the Reward of all these

these Exercises, was no greater matter, than that of some green Herb or Plant, or some Branch of a Tree, coil'd round and platted into the Form of a Garland or Crown, with which the Head of the Victor was wreath'd. And this the Apostle justly calls a *corruptible Crown*, v. 25. (which, in the *Isthmian Games*, was made of the Branches of a Pine-tree) to which he opposes the *incorruptible Crown* which true Christians contend for.—Now, as our best Expositors, such as Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Whitby*, &c. are agreed in these things with me ; so I hope, by this time, the Reader is sufficiently apprized of the Sense of this Passage. And I am sure, if he be so, he will readily own, That the Words of the Apostle in 1 Cor. 9. 27. are so far from making against my Notion, that they are a very considerable Proof for me : and they will yet appear to be further so, when I come to consider the Sequel of the Apostle's Discourse, *Phil. 3.* from ver. 12. to the End ; which is a Portion of Scripture exactly Parallel to this. So that it is evident to me, that the Apostle was only afraid, that if he did not act wisely and faithfully, he might come to be a *Cast-away* so far, as related to the attaining to the *special Resurrection and Reward*, which he had in view ; and which he could no otherwise expect than by a careful Observance of Christ's Laws, which he has in his Eye, when he speaks of the *Isthmian Races*, and other Solemnities, to the *Corinthians*, who knew them too well to need any particular Relation of what related to them.

And now, as I have been led occasionally to clear up the meaning of several Passages of Scripture, during this my Inquiry, which I presume were not understood hitherto by either Ancient or Modern Divines : So I might take occasion, from what I have said, to illustrate several other Expressions. But I shall content my self with two only ; which lie so level to my purpose, that I cannot find in my Heart, to let them pass, without some Observation. The (1st.) is, That Expression, *Rom. 11. 15.* For if the casting away of them, (i.e. the Jews) be (the occasion of the Reconciling of the (Gentile) World : What shall *περσληψις*, the Assumption of them again

again be ; (i. e. the receiving of them into Grace and Favour) *ἐι μὴ (ὡν ἐκ νεκρῶν ; Can it be any thing less than (or accompanied with less than) Life from the Dead (or a new Resurrection of the Dead.)* For the Reason which the Apostle founds upon, seems plainly to be this ; if the Christian Religion was confirm'd, at first, not only by Christ's *own Resurrection*, but the *Resurrection also of those* mentioned, *Matth. 27. 52.* Is it not reasonable to believe, that when the *anum* of Christianity is brought in, at the *Millennium*, and when the Jews are converted to the same Religion ; there will be a *special Resurrection then* of eminent Saints, who shall rise from the Dead ; by which Jews and Gentiles will be so convinced of the Truth of Christianity, as readily to imbrace it. And indeed, were it not for the sake of Brevity, I might enlarge upon the Reasonableness of this Conjectural Exposition from several things in the Context. And, tho Dr. *Whitby* had no such Notion, as this of mine when he wrote his *Annotations* upon this *11th* Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, together with his *Discourse of the calling of the Jews to the Christian Faith*, which is appended thereunto : Yet I cannot refer my Readers to a more Judicious and solid Account of those Matters, than is to be found there. For if, together with what he says, both in his *Annotations*, and in his most elaborate *Appendix* to the same, this Notion of mine, and what I have said upon it, be carried along, in the Reader's Mind, by a close and strict Inquiry into the Subjects which he and I treat of ; I am bold to say, that these things will appear in so full and clear a Light, as that Men can hardly expect much more before the Dawn of the *Millennium* appear ; nay, that it will be just matter of wonder that so clear a Discovery of such dark things should already break forth upon the Church, so long before the time of that *glorious Period of Christocracy*. — But I proceed, (2.) To illustrate the other Passage of Scripture, which I humbly think has never been fully understood hitherto. The Passage I refer to, is that in *1 Cor. 15. Else, what shall they*

they do who are baptized for the Dead, if the Dead do not rise at all? (For, in case this be indeed true,) Why then are they baptized for the Dead. These Words have ever been look'd upon to be very dark and obscure: Which has occasion'd Criticks to suggest abundance of Senses, not only very different from, but sometimes even opposite unto one another; as any one will see, that compares them, either in the *Biblia Critica*, or in *Pool's Synopsis* of them; not to mention any of the many Annotations and particular Treatises that have been publish'd, with Design to explain this Passage.—— Now, in order to give my Thoughts of this Expression of *Paul*; I must premise two Things, by way of Preliminary. In the 1st Place therefore, let us consider the Sense of the *Preposition* *ὑπὲρ*, which is made use of here. It is joyn'd sometimes with the *Genitive*, and sometimes with the *Accusative*, but never with any other Case; as every one knows, that is acquainted with the *Greek Language*. With the former of these it is used here: So that we have nothing to do with the Use of it, the other way. And in this Use of it, as connected with the *Genitive*, we find that Authors do, (1.) Sometimes mean by it, what the *British Writers* do express by, [*For* ;] (2.) And sometimes by, [*In the Room of, or in the Stead of, or upon the Account of, or for the Sake of, or with a Reference unto, such or such a Person or Thing,*] (3.) And sometimes, they are oblig'd to translate it by, [*Of, or By.*] In this last Sense, it is obvious, that this *Preposition* cannot be used here. For it were Nonsense to read, *Of the Dead, or By the Dead*. But, in either of the former Senses, the Words may be understood. Now, I do humbly suppose, that the Apostle used it, in its utmost Plenitude, in this Place; and that Mens confining it to one Acceptation only, from various Hypotheses, has been that very thing, that has hitherto confounded Mens Minds, in relation to a Sentence, otherwise obvious and plain. For the Apostle having several Resurrections in view, in Conjunction with the Nature and Scope of Baptism, expresses himself in

in this general and concise Sentence, *What shall they do that are baptized* ὅτις τῶν νεκρῶν, &c. without any Limitation whatsoever. And now, let me also premise, in the 2d Place, that we ought to consider the Scope of the Context, in Conjunction with the Sense of the Proposition; for which I refer the Reader to Dr. *Whitby*. Now when therefore we consider both these, we have Reason; (1.) To think, that the Apostle had his Eye backward, upon Christ's Death and Resurrection; and therefore Dr. *Whitby* justly renders, *for the Dead*, by adding, *for a dead Jesus*. For the Apostle argues for the Resurrection of the Dead in general, (against those that denied it) from Christ's being raised from the Dead. And, in this Sense, the Apostle says, *What shall Christians do*, (in Case there be no Resurrection; for if there be none such, they must be miserably mistaken,) *who are baptized for a dead Man, as he must yet be, in case there be no Resurrection*. For thus no Reason can be assigned, why a Man should be baptized at all. Now, Dr. *Whitby* says, that δι νεκρῶν, (tho usually of a plural Signification, as well as it is a plural Phrase, considered Grammatically; yet) is sometimes used to denote one single Person: For which he cites, *ver. 12, & 13. & Luke 7. 15, 22*. But I presume he is very much mistaken, in both Places: For tho both Christ and Paul speak indeed, upon the Occasion of the Resurrection of a single Person, yet they speak of a plural Resurrection; each of these Instances being made use of in a Reference to a Resurrection of others. So that, tho I have mention'd this Sense, I am far from thinking it to be the full Meaning: Nay, if taken separately from other Senses, not to be the true Meaning neither; and I know not, that ever any Greek Author used this Phrase, after this manner. And therefore, (2.) I do believe, that the Apostle look'd back upon that Resurrection of Eminent Saints, mentioned, *Matth. 27. 52*. in Conjunction with the Resurrection of Christ. And, in this Sense, as the View is complex, so is the Apostle's Meaning; which must be this:

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If there be no Resurrection, whence is it, that we Christians are baptized, with a firm Belief, that as Christ rose from the Dead, so many others have been raised by him already, which we believe, and reckon, as a certain Proof of our own Resurrection afterwards, in God's Time. So that, by a Conjunction of these two Sentences, we have several of those Expositions of *vap*. For, in the first Sense, in Relation to Christ, we may render the Phrase, either for the Dead, as our Version does, or upon the Account of the Dead, or for the Sake of the Dead. And, in the second Sense, in Relation to the Saints, who arose after Christ's Resurrection, we may render it thus; with a Reference to the Dead. But then, (3.) We have just Reason to think, that the Apostle did not only look backwards, when he used this Phrase, but that he look'd forwards also; both to the special Resurrection before the Millennium, and to the Resurrection of the rest of the Saints, at the end of Time; and consequently their own Resurrection to eternal Life, in one or other of these Periods. And in this respect, the Words may be rendered, as in the second Sense, viz. thus, with a Reference to the Dead, or those that were, as yet, in the State of the Dead, but that were to rise again. But, (4.) There is one Sense still behind, viz. that this Expression bears a special Relation to the Nature and Scope of Baptism, as it is plain it does from the Words themselves. Now it is evident, that the Scriptural Notion of Baptism, bears a special Reference to the Death and Burial of Men in the general, and Christ's own Death and Burial in particular. And the Rite of Baptism, then in use, (as all that know Scripture and Antiquity must own, was that of Immersion or dipping of the whole Body, which continued for about 13 Centuries, tho afterwards altered into that of sprinkling, or washing the Face,) was a plain Emblem of this. For, when the Body was plunged into the Water, it was a Representation of Death and Burial. And the Threefold Immersion, then used, was to denote Christ's being three Days and Nights

Nights in the Grave. When therefore the Person baptized came from under the Water, and walk'd out again, it bore a Reference to dead Mens rising out of their Graves, and particularly to Christ's Resurrection on the third Day, after his Death. So that for Paul to speak of *those that were baptized for the Dead*, was as much as to say, that Christians then were baptized, in Faith of their own Resurrection, and the Resurrection of others, with the same Assurance with which they believ'd that some had risen before, but more especially their Lord and Master. And we have reason to think, that a Declaration to this purpose, was requir'd of all Converts to Christianity, either from Judaism or Gentilism; and that those Converts did accordingly give an explicate Account of their Faith this way. Whence it came to pass, that those Men, when they were baptized, were, by an easie Figure, represented as dead and buried Men, for a while, as afterwards to be raised from the Dead. In Regard to which, to be baptized for the Dead, was as much as to say, that they were then baptized in the Room of the Dead, or in their Stead or Place; they, at that time, being look'd upon, in a figurative Sense, to sustain the Persons of the Dead, as being (mytically and spiritually considered) real Emblems of them, as well as Confessors of Christ's Resurrection, and the Resurrection of others. And indeed, I must own, that, of all particular Senses of this Text, I take this to be the most natural one. But as I said, I cannot see, why we ought to limit the Apostle's unlimited general Expression, to one particular Notion only. And therefore, as the Phrase allows of all these Senses, in Conjunction one with another: So I think, that βαπτίζομενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, denotes this:

“ Those, who have been baptized, professing that
 “ they believed, that as Christ was once dead, so he
 “ was now risen from the Dead, as well as many of
 “ his eminent Saints; and that they had no greater
 “ Assurance of these Facts, than of the certain Accomplishment of the Promise which Christ had
 “ made,

made, that there would be a Resurrection of all Men at last, both good and bad ; as also, that they hoped to be made Partakers of the Resurrection of good Men, or of the better Resurrection, viz. of that which is to Life eternal ; with a Reference to all which things, they did firmly believe, that Baptism was appointed ; and therefore with Relation to all these, and in Obedience to the Commandment of Christ, (who ordered the Apostles to disciple Men, by baptizing them, &c. *Matth. 28. 28.*) they readily came under this Ordinance of Baptism, wherein they were baptized for the Dead, in all the Senses and Acceptations of that Phrase, which I mention'd before. And I think, this Account which I have given of this Text and Subject, is the very same which the Apostle himself gives us, *Rom. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c.* Which therefore I cannot but look upon as a full and clear Comment upon it, especially if the Strain of the Context, in *Chap. 5.* and in the remaining Part of *Chap. 6.* and in the following Chapters, be duly considered. In a Connexion therefore with what the Apostle had said, in *Chap. 5.* he begins the 6th Chapter thus. *What shall we say then ? Shall we continue in Sin, that Grace may abound ? God forbid ! How shall we, that are dead to Sin, live any longer therein ? Know ye not, that so many of us, as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his Death ? Therefore we are buried with him, by Baptism, into (a Conformity to his) Death ; That like as Christ was raised up from the Dead, by the Glory of the Father ; (i. e. by himself, who is the Glory or Shechinah of the Father, as being the Brightness of his Glory, or his expressed Glory, and the express Image of his Person, *Heb. 1. 3.*) Even so we also (being dead with him in Baptism) should (rise with him and) walk in Newness of Life. For if we have been planted together, in the Likeness of his Death : We shall be also in the Likeness of his Resurrection : Knowing this, that our Old Man is crucified with him, that the Body of Sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve Sin. For he that is dead, is freed*

freed from Sin. Now, if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him. Knowing that Christ being raised from the Dead, dieth no more: For Death hath no more Dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto Sin once: But, in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also, your selves, to be dead indeed unto Sin, but alive unto God, thro' our Lord Jesus Christ. Let not Sin therefore reign in your mortal Body, &c. And in the same Dialect does the same Apostle say, Col. 2. 12. That we are buried with Christ in Baptism, wherein also we are arisen with him, thro' the Faith of the Operation of God, who raised him from the Dead. See also his Words, to the same Purpose, Eph. 1. 19, 20. & 1 Thess. 4. 14. as also those Words of Peter, 1 Epist. Chap. 1. 3, 4. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who ——— bath begotten us again unto a lively Hope, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead, &c. which compare with his Words, Chap. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21. For Christ hath once suffered for Sins, ——— being put to Death in the Flesh, but quickned in the Spirit; ——— the like Figure, whereunto, even Baptism doth now also save us, &c. Now it was our Saviour himself, that was the Author of this sort of Dialect. For speaking of his Death, Continuance in the Grave, and Resurrection from thence, Luke 12. 50. he says, *I have a Baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitned (or pressed, or pained) till it be accomplished.* To which Expression, Paul seems to allude, Acts 21. 13. as Christ himself, to his own Words formerly, Psal. 40. 6, 7, 8, &c. Consider also Christ's Words to his Disciples, Matth. 20. 22, 23. & Mark 10. 38, 39. *Are ye able to be baptized with the Baptism that I am baptized with, &c. i. e. to be immersed in such Waters of Affliction, as to be overwhelmed with them, for a Time, even so far as to die a violent Death.* For the Metaphor of Baptism, or Immersion in Waters, or being put under Waves or Flood, was a common Phrase under the Old Testament, used to denote a Person overwhelmed with Affliction. Hence the Psalmist cries out, Psal. 42. 7. *that the Waves had*

gone

gone over his Soul; and Psal. 69. 2. that he was come in to deep Waters. And so we read the Phrase, Psal. 88. 7. Cant. 8. 7. Jer. 47. 2. Ezek. 26. 19. Dan. 9. 26. John 2. 3. See Dr. Whitby on Matth. 20. 22.

And now, after all I have said, I hope I may be allowed to think, that I have demonstrated the Verity of this special and prior Resurrection, as far as the Nature of the Subject can be supposed to be capable of Demonstration, from those Scriptural Proofs thereof, which I have founded this my Opinion upon.

And as I have proved this Point largely, so I have not been deficient to interweave and intersperse what will be, I think, sufficient to assist the Reader to form as clear an Idea, both of the Millennium and the special Resurrection then, as can be reasonable for us to venture upon our selves, or expect from others, seeing we live so long before both these. For, as I now write this, December the 10th, 1707. So I hope quickly to shew it to be highly probable to me, that the Millennium will not commence sooner than the Year 2000.

But, before I proceed to the next Inquiry, Let me desire the Reader, in order to his forming an Idea of the Millennium, and the special Resurrection, which is to be then, to look back upon what I said, towards the beginning of the 2d Step of this Inquiry; and particularly, those four Things, wherein Dr. Whitby and I are agreed, Page 39, together with those seven additional Considerations, which follow the former, Page 40. And when he has done so, let him proceed to consider, with second Thoughts, my Paraphrastical Exposition of Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11. and Chap. 20. 4, 5. with which I began the 3d Step of this Inquiry, Page 42. not to mention other things, both in that 3d Step, and in other Places of this Inquiry.

But, besides all this, let what I said in the four Propositions, explanatory of John 14. 2, 3. be duly considered, as they are to be found towards the End of the 5th Chapter of Christology, Page 517, &c. as well as

what I supposed might be one of the Ends of Christ's continuing for 40 Days on Earth, viz. that which is proposed in the same 5th Chapter, in the 1st Place, Page 508.

However, let me add these few things further, in order to help us still to form, if possible, a more full and genuine Idea of the Resurrection at the beginning of the *Millennium*. And, (1.) I think, That as the Saints mentioned, *Matth. 27. 52.* rose before the *Effusion* of the *Holy Ghost*, on the Day of *Pentecost*, with which the *New Testament Dispensation* did most properly begin; the time preceding, from Christ's Birth, to Christ's publick Appearance being only Preliminary to it; and the few Years and Days, from thence to the *Effusion* of the *Paraclete*, being only taken up, in laying the Foundation of the *Gospel Dispensation*: So I do think, that the Resurrection of the Saints, at the *Millennium*, will be, to speak properly, some time before the beginning of that Period. And thus, as the time of Christ's Abode on Earth, from his Birth to his *Ascension*, and sending of the *Paraclete*, (and in a farther Latitude, to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*,) was the central time between the *Old* and *New Testament Time* or *Times*: So it is reasonable to believe, that the Time of the Resurrection of the eminent Saints before the *Millennium*, together with the final Extirpation of the *Papacy*, at the same time, and the begun Reign of *Genuine Christianity* on Earth, will be a kind of Central Period of the *New Testament Times*. See my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 14 and what I said above, in the 5th Chapter of the 1d Book of *Christology*, under the second Observation, particularly Page 342, &c. (2.) I do think, that as Christ did not raise those former Saints, until after his own Resurrection: So likewise that he went into the happy *Hades*, sometime after his being raised from the Dead; in order to take Possession thereof; and that, at that time, he evidenc'd his Power over it, by bringing from thence many eminent Saints. And therefore, I think it highly congruous, to suppose also, that,

that, tho Christ will not go personally into *Hades*, at the *Millennium*; yet that he will appear there, by some eminent Manifestation of his Glory and Power to separate Souls, when he raiseth his most eminent Saints from the State of the Dead. (3.) That, as it is highly probable, that the former Saints, did not only appear to *many*, as it is expressly told us, but that they appeared often, during the greatest Part of the Time of Christ's 40 Days Continuance on Earth: So, it is equally probable, that the Saints, who are to be raised before the *Millennium*, will appear to many, and that often for some considerable Time, before the *Millennium* commence. (4.) That as it is more than probable, that the Appearance of the former Saints to so *many*, was of eminent Use to prepare Men for the Reception of Christianity, against the Time of the Effusion of the Holy Ghost, and what followed it: So it is equally probable to me, that the special Appearance of the later Saints, for a considerable time, and to many Witnesses of Note and Fame, will be a very great Mean towards the Propagation and Establishing of the Christian Religion in the World, for a Thousand Years. (5.) That, as Christianity was eminently confirmed and propagated at first, by the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Gifts of Miracles, and of Tongues, together with other eminent Qualifications and Endowments, conveyed, that way, to the Apostles, and Apostolical Men of that first Age: So we have just Reason to think, that an eminent Effusion of the Holy Spirit will be, at the beginning of the *Millennium*, by which abundance of excellent Persons will be qualified with more than ordinary Grace, Knowledge, Parts, Learning, Zeal, Holiness, Utterance and Activity; by whom Christ will so eminently appear and act, as that *Antichristianism* shall be universally destroyed, and true Christianity be so confirmed and propagated, as to become, in a little time, the prevailing Interest of the World. (6.) But I am far from thinking, that the eminent Saints, raised at or before the *Millennium*

nium, are to be rewarded then as highly as they shall be after the Final Judgment is over: For I do suppose, that what I said in the preceding Book of *Christology*, Page 529, &c. will be found to contain a sufficient Refutation of such an Opinion. And therefore, I refer the Reader back to what I said there. And, (7.) I am likewise far from imagining, that the *Eminent raised Saints* will appear generally to Men then; any farther than the *Saints raised*, Matth. 27. 52. did appear to the *Jews*. For Men must ever be under a State of Tryal in this present World: With which, such an universal Appearance is inconsistent. Nay, (8.) I have no higher Opinion of the *Millenary State* (as I have said formerly) than this; That it will be a State and Time, wherein the Church, comparatively with its former State, during *Paganism* and *Antichristianism*, will enjoy great Peace and Prosperity on Earth. For as there will be Sin then, so there must be Troubles too, such as Wars, Quarrels and Commotions; Perfection and Happiness being appropriated to Heaven only. However, it will be a happy State, when compared with that of former Times.

And now, as I think these are rational, and therefore justly supposable Conjectures, as being not only consistent with Scripture as well as Reason; but congruous to a pallel Resurrection, which is recorded, Matth. 27. 52. So I desire they may be considered in Conjunction with, and as additional unto, those other Considerations offer'd before; whether in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, or in the 3d Book of *Christology*, or in the preceding Part of this Dissertation; to the Pages of all which I have already refer'd the Reader. For, by laying those things together, we shall be able to form to our selves as clear an Idea, both of the *special Resurrection*, and of the *Millennium*, as can be rationally expected. So that having attain'd both Ends of this *first Inquiry*, I proceed now to the next.

II. INQUIRY.

When, or at what Time, or Period of Time, may we most probably suppose, that Antichrist will fall, and the happy Millennium begin, and consequently the special Resurrection, which is to be then?

Tho I cannot pretend to equal Certainty, as to the precise Time of the Millennium and special Resurrection, as I presume to have attain'd unto, as to the Reality of these Events themselves: Yet, I hope, I may venture to say, that I have the highest Probabilities, to make me conclude, that the Commencement of the Millennium will coincide with the Year of Christ 2000; and that the special Resurrection will be at, or about that Time, i. e. a little before the Millennium begin, as I humbly suppose.

In order to clear up this Point, as far as I can, I desire that my *Apocalyptical Discourse* finish'd on *New Years Day*, viz. *Jan. 1. Old Style. A. D. 1700.* and publish'd a few Days afterwards, may be consulted. But, because this Treatise may come into the Hands of those, who cannot immediately come at that Discourse; and because I presume to say, that no such exact and consistent Scheme of the *Apocalyptical Visions* was ever yet given: I shall not grudge to give the Reader a short View of it, as far as may serve my Design, in laying a Foundation for my answering the Scope of this *second Inquiry*; hoping, that if I add any thing, to clear up my former meaning, as I go along, none will quarrel with me for amending what is my own.

And, in doing this, I must premise, what I cast into a *Postscript* to that *Epistolary Discourse*; seeing I did there give a short Account of the first Principles of the *Apocalyptical Interpretations* advanc'd in the *Discourse* it self. Now my *Propositions* and *Corollaries*, which I think I have demonstrated, in that Place, are these following;

referring the Reader to the Proof thereof, as well as to the Inlargements of other Things, which I may afterwards touch upon, to the proper Places of the Discourse it self, where they are to be found.

The first Principles of the True Exposition of the Apocalypse, proved in the Postscript, to my Apocalyptical Discourse, Page 157, &c.

- I. Proposition. *The Revelation was written by the Apostle John, and is a Sacred and Canonical Book of the New Testament.*
- II. Prop. *The Book of the Revelation was written after the Destruction of Jerusalem.*
 1. Corollary. *The Visions of the Apocalypse, did neither relate to the Romish nor Jewish State, before the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.*
 2. Corol. *The Revelation relates to the Church and Her Adversaries, as to those things that were to fall out, after the Eversion of the Jewish State.*
 3. Corol. *The Revelation contains the Series of all the remarkable Events and Changes of the State of the Church to the End of the World.*
- III. Prop. *The Seven Epistles directed to as many Churches in the lesser Asia, do not immediately relate to the Christian Church in general, and therefore cannot be interpreted Prophetically, in any proper Sense, as if they did denote so many Periods of Time.*
- IV. Prop. *Babylon the Great, or the Apocalyptical Beast, taken in a general Sense, as it is represented, with its seven Heads and ten Horns, is no other than an Emblem of the Roman People and Power, under seven Terms of Government, and ten Provincial or Proconsular Districts, afterwards to be alter'd into ten separate Kingdoms.*
- V. Prop. *The seven-headed Beast, more specially considered, viz. as represented to be rid upon, or to be under the Subjection*

jection of the Whore, doth represent to us, Rome, as it is under the Ecclesiastical Government of the Papacy, or Apostate Church of Rome.

VI. Prop. The seven Kings, represented by the seven Heads of the Beast, are no other than the seven Forms of supreme Government, that did successively obtain among the Romans.

Now having premised these Postulata, in reference to the whole Apocalypse; let me proceed to give a summary Account of my Discourse it self, (with some additional Inlargements) concerning the Rise and Fall of the Papacy, &c.

In order to this, I premised two preliminary Considerations.

The 1st. was this: That the Three Grand Apocalypitical Numbers, viz. that of 1260 Days, that of 12 Months, and that of Time, Times and an half, (or 3 Years and an half,) are not only Synchronical, but must be interpreted Prophetically, so as that we must interpret Days to signify Years. See Page 19, &c.

The 2^d Preliminary was this: That in order to understand the Prophetical Years aright, we must reduce them to Julian Years, or such as are in use with us now in Europe.

And, as I think, I have irrefragably proved both these Heads: So, I hope, I may be allowed to say, that, so far as I can learn, I was the first Man that found out this second Point; and that adjusted the Prophetical or Judaical Years, of 360 Days, with the Julian or Roman ones of 365 Days. For which, see Page 24, 25, 26.

Having premised these things, I proceeded to inquire into the true Era of the Rise of the Papal Beast, or the last Headship of Rome, viz. that of the Reign of the Antichristian Whore or Apostate Church of Rome.

And, in order to adjust this, I laid this Foundation; that five Heads or Forms of Government were actually fallen,

len, at the time of the Vision: for so the Angel, that was sent to interpret the Apocalypse to the Apostle John, says, in expresse Words, *Rev. 17. 10.* And he adds, as expressly, that one was then in being, *i. e.* the *sixth Head* or *sixth Form* of Government. And we know, that whatever Dispute there may be, as to the *five former sorts* of Government, that were fallen before the time of John's being in *Patmos*; there can be no Dispute at all, as to that Form of Government that then obtain'd: for every one must own, that it could be none but the *Imperial*; seeing this was introduc'd long before John was born, and lasted long after his Death.

All the Controversy therefore, that can be, in this matter, I did suppose must be in relation to the other Head or Heads of the Roman Government. And therefore, I set my self to examine the remaining Part of the *Angel-Interpreter's Words*; which he gives as the *Key* of the whole *Apocalypse*; when he says, *Chap. 17. 10.* that after the Fall of the *Sixth* or *Imperial Head*, there were *two* in Name to come, (tho one only in Nature and in Propriety of Speech.) His Words are, that the other, (*i. e.* the *Seventh*, in Point of Succession,) is not yet come, and that when he cometh, he is to continue only for a short Space: Adding, as to the last Head of Rome, *ver. 11.* And the Beast that was before, and yet is not now; even he is the *Eighth*, (*viz.* in Point of Number and Succession) and yet is of the *Seven*, (in Point of Nature,) and goeth into Perdition.

Now, when I came to search into History, I could not but conclude, that the *seventh Head* of Rome (*viz.* in Point of Name and Succession) which succeeded the *Imperial one*, could not possibly be any other than that of the *Ostro-Goths* under *Theodorick* and his Successors, to whose Government *Odoacer*, the King of the *Heruli*, prepar'd the way, by destroying *Augustulus*, the last proper (however weak) Emperor of Rome, in the Year 475, or 476. For, as it is certain, that *Odoacer* first, and *Theodorick* and his Successors afterwards, down to *Tejas*, were as absolute Masters of Rome, as ever

ever any of the Emperors had been before; nay, and were own'd to be so by the Christian Emperors of the East, as every one knows, that has consulted *Cassiodorus*, in *Libris Variarum*, who was himself chief Minister of State to two of those *Gothish Kings*: So it is plain, that this *Gothish Monarchy*, which lasted only about 80 Years, down from *Odoacer* to *Tejas*, might justly be said, by the Angel, to be of *short Continuance*; seeing, comparatively, it was so, whether we consider it in Relation to the preceding *Imperial Head of Rome*, or the *Papal one* that succeeded.

And here I must so far break off the Thread of the present Discourse, as to call to mind, that this Notion of mine did so confound the late famed Apocalyptical Writer, *Mr. Beverley*, as to occasion him to write a Pamphlet against me, intitl'd, *The Grand Apocalyptick Question, when the Reign of Antichristianism, or the Papacy began? And consequently, when it shall end? In the Assertion of the Epoch or Beginning thereof, at A. D. 437; and the Period or End thereof, at 1797, humbly debated with Mr. Fleming, &c.* To which, I thought it enough to reply, in a *Marginal Note*, in a *Practical Discourse*, which I was then a Publishing, upon the Occasion of *King William's Death*, which is to be seen in the 40th Page of that Discourse. In which *Marginal Note* I observed, that, whereas he insisted upon a Criticism, in Defence of his Notion, that the Christian Empire of the East, was properly meant, *Rev. 17. 10.* by the *ὁ ἄλλος*, which he renders *ἄλλότριος*, i. e. the *Alien* or *Forreigner*; his own Observation made against him, and for me; seeing the *Gothish Monarchy* was indeed *Alien* and *Forreign* to the *Romans*, and to all the Forms of their Government, which no *Imperial Government* could be said to be; seeing, whatever Religion obtained, the *Imperial Form* was still retain'd. And whereas he adds, that the *Regnancy* of this *seventh Head* was to continue only for a *short Time*; I observed that this did also make for me, and against him; seeing the *Empire* of the *East* continued long after the *Ruin* of the *Gothish Monarchy*.

And

And surely there can be no such natural Exposition of the Character given of that Form of Government, which succeeded the Imperial, as that which I added there, *viz.* "That it was remarkable, that the Head, which is said to be the *Seventh* in Order, is not said to be of the *Seven*; (this being the Character of the last Head, which is really the *Seventh*, tho the *Eighth* in order;) and that for this Reason; because the *Gothish Kingdom in Italy*, tho it was the *seventh* Head or Government of *Rome*, was not, for all that, the *seventh* Roman Head: Seeing it is certain, that it did not spring or arise out of *Italy*, or *Rome*, or from the Bowels of the *Roman People*; but was a *foreign Power*, that invaded and subdued them, and erected a sovereign Government there by Conquest. And indeed there is so much Wisdom visible to me, in the Contrivance of the Characters of these two last Heads of *Rome*; that I am not ashamed to say, is, to me, no small Proof of the Divine Authority of this whole Book.

And therefore I added the Reason, why the Dialect is quite altered, when the Angel speaks of the *Eighth* and last Form of the Roman Government, after this manner. "For seeing the *Papal Government*, which succeeded to the *Gothish* over *Rome*, did really spring up from the Bowels of the *Roman People*, it was just for the Angel to Characterize this last Head of *Rome*, as that which was one of the seven proper Forms of Roman Government; the *Gothish Kingdom* being properly none of them, both as being the same, as to Kind, with the first Regal Government of *Rome*, and as being no proper Roman Government, seeing *Goths* and not *Romans* or *Italians*, did then rule and command the Ancient Dominions of *Rome* and *Italy*, which did always give Name to the fourth General or Universal Monarchy, from its first Rise under Kings, and afterwards downwards, thro' all the successive Forms thereof to this Day,

Having

Having said so much, I return (and, I hope, I do so with Advantage) to prosecute the Thread of my Discourse. For seeing I have evinced, 1. That the *Gothish Monarchy* was the *seventh Government of Italy and Rome*, at the same time, that it was no *Roman Government* at all: And, 2. That the *Papal Government* was really one and the last of the seven *Roman Forms of Government*, at the same Time that it was the *Eighth in Order*, as being immediately successive to that of the *Goths*: I cannot (after the Probation of these two Points) but necessarily conclude; that, if we can find out, when the *Gothish Monarchy* ended, we may rationally hope to discover, when the *Reign of the Papacy* began to commence.

Now, seeing the Kingdom of the *Heruli* first, and *Ostrogoths* afterwards, began *An. 476*, upon the Death of *Augustulus*, and ended, *An. 553*, when *Justinian* destroyed it, and consequently revived the 6th *Imperial Headship of Rome*; (by which that Head, tho it had received its deadly Wound, never to be fully cured, was yet, for a time, healed, in Appearance:) I say, seeing the Case was so, it is certain, that a quite different Form of Government from the *Imperial*, could not be supposed to take Place, just at that time. And indeed, such were the Confusions that followed the Destruction of the *Gothish Monarchy*, that there can be no proper Form of Government found in History, in Relation to *Rome and Italy*, for a considerable time afterwards. For *Narses* having brought in the *Lombards*, the Emperors of the *East* were glad to rest contented with their little and precarious Government, which was only that of the *Exarchate of Ravenna*.

So that there is not the least Pretence, that the *Papal Government* came in Play, as a proper Head, or Form of Government over *Rome*, until the Year 606, when *Phocas* gave the Title of *Universal Bishop* to *Pope Boniface the 3d*. But then we must remember, that the famous Prophecy of his Predecessor, *Gregory the Great*, was not, that he should be *Antichrist* that should assume that proud Title,

Title, but that he that should do so, should be the *Forerunner of Antichrist*. So that, as I said, in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 33. *Phocas* did only proclaim the *Pope*, as one that was about to be the *last Head of Rome*: It being left to *Pipin* to give him the *solemn Investiture*, and to seat him on the *Throne*; as it was left to his Son *Charlemain*, to confirm him in this Dignity.

Now, as near as I can trace the time of this *Donation of Pipin*, and *Confirmation of Charlemain*, it was in or about the Year 758; when, (after *Pope Zachary* had made Provision for the Erecting the *Roman Metropolitan Church at Rome*) *Pope Stephen the 3d* was made a *Secular Prince*, by *Pipin*, *A. D.* 755; or three Years after that, when *Pope Paul the First* began to build the Church of *St. Peter and St. Paul*, viz. *A.* 758, or 759.

If therefore we make the Year 758, to be the *Ara of the Papal Kingdom*, the 1260 Years of the Duration thereof, cannot be supposed to run out before the Year 2018, if we reckon by *Julian Years*: But if we reduce them to *Judaical or Prophetical Years*, they end exactly in the Year 2000. Or if we begin the *Papal-Reign*, in *An.* 755, 756, or 757, when the *Pope* was first own'd and submitted to, as the true Head of *Rome*, the difference of about 3 Years is no great matter; especially seeing Authors differ among themselves as to the precise and exact time, when these things fell out.

However, upon the Supposition, that the *Papacy* became regnant in the Year 758, we find, that the Year 758, from the Birth of *Christ*, when it is adjusted with the *Characteristical Number of Antichrist*, *A. D.* 666. is the Year 72; which I take to be the very Year of *John's* seeing the *Visions*, which are recorded in the *Apocalypse*; tho I know others reckon it to have been the Year 75. Tho it is also observable, that as the numerical Letters of the last Head of *Rome* are to be found, not only in the *Greek Word*, which signifies *Latine*, but in the *Hebrew Word* also of the like Signification, whether we read *Romana scil. sedes*, or *Romanus vel Latinus*, (as I shewed, pag. 31. of the *Apocalyptical*

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tical Discourse :) So it was in the Year of our Lord 666, that Pope *Vitalian* did first ordain that all Publick Worship should be in *Latin*, as if he had design'd that *Italian* and *Vitalian* should chime one with another, to the Tune of a canting Cathedral *Ave Maria*. But to return;

The Great *Apocalyptical Question*, is therefore this; when the Pope came to get himself owned and submitted unto, as Prince and Head of *Rome*?

That he did not attain to this Grandeur, so much as in Title, before *Phocas* his time, is, I think, too plain to be denied. For as *Gregory the Great*, in his Letter to the Emperor *Maurice*, pronounced him to be the Fore-runner of *Antichrist*, who should assume the proud Title of *Universal Bishop*, as I have said, and as *Baronius* tells us at large, *ad Annum*, 595. So his Successor *Boniface the Third*, was no more than *Antichrist's Fore-runner*, by assuming it, *A. D.* 606. as I believe *Phocas* did only design, by giving it, to shew his Resentment against *Cyriacus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had displeased him, and to ingage the Pope to stand by him, in case of need, as knowing how precarious his own Title was, and how hated his Person was by all Men.

But a bare Title and an Ecclesiastical one too, could never make the Pope Head of *Rome*, in any Propriety of Speech, whilst as yet he had no Temporal Dominion over *Rome*: and therefore I am obliged to run down to the Donation of *Pipin*, as the only Period of Time, from whence the Papacy can be supposed to mount the Throne of *Rome*, as its last Supreme Form of Government.

Objection. But it seems odd, to date the Pope's Headship from hence; seeing the Limbs of *Antichrist* are made up only of *Ecclesiasticks*; and that therefore, tho' the Temporal Dominion, which *Pipin* and *Charlemain* granted him, might serve indeed to support him, yet it could not constitute him, to be the Supreme Head of *Rome*; seeing he never had any such Temporal Jurisdiction, from whence he could claim an universal Headship; it being plain that he never had

had any more Dominion, than what serv'd to make him one of the petty Princes of Italy.

Answer. This Objection were Demonstration against me, had I ever own'd the Pope to have been equally a Temporal Head, in extent of Dominion and Power, as an Ecclesiastical one. But all that I pretend to infer from the Donation of *Pipin*, is this; that he had not, before that time, what was sufficient either to support him, and to entitle him to be Head of *Rome*; seeing, ever before this, the *Popes* were *Vassals* to the Imperial Power, whose Subjects they were, and owned themselves to be: *Rome* it self being annexed to *Ravenna*; which was then the Capital City of that District or Province of *Italy*, belonging unto the Greek Emperors, where they kept an *Exarch* or *Governour* to rule and manage all their Affairs. So that it was *Pipin* that advanced the Pope from being a Subject to be a Prince, by giving him the whole *Exerchate* of *Ravenna*; by which *Rome* became the head City of that Territory, and the Pope consequently Head of *Rome*, independent of all others.

The History of this Transaction we have in *Baronius*, ad *Annum* 755; who tells us, That when *Pipin* had undertaken an Expedition into *Italy*, upon the Pope's humble and earnest Request, he found the Pope's Circumstances very low. For *Aistulph* King of the *Lombards* had conquer'd *Ravenna*, and the whole *Exerchate*, excepting *Rome* only; to which he was then laying close Siege. But *Pipin*, as the Pope's Champion, fell upon *Aistulph*, and entirely routed his Army, and conquer'd the whole Country; refusing to make any Peace with that Prince, until he had quietly yielded up the whole *Exerchate* to Pope *Stephen* and his Successors for ever.

Now *Baronius* tells us, that while these things were in dispute, and that *Aistulph* had agreed to do as *Pipin* desired; the Emperor *Constantine Capronymus* sent Ambassadors to *Pipin*, demanding the Restitution of the Lands and Cities of the *Exerchate*, as belonging of Right neither to *Pipin* nor *Aistulph*; which therefore

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neither of them separately, nor both jointly, had any Pretence to give away, either to the Pope or any Body else. But Power overcame Right, and the poor Emperor protested in vain; for the Pope was not only invested in the Supreme Headship of that Dominion, but had some other Cities and Villages given him likewise: All which do now constitute the *Ecclesiastical Territory* of the *Roman See*, as it is usually called.

And, as a Monument of this memorable Transaction, *Baronius* tells us, that there is extant, (u) at *Ravenna*, an *Inscription*; where a summary Account of this Donation of *Pipin* is yet to be seen, and which runs thus: PIPINUS, PRIMUS AMPLIFICANDÆ ECCLESIAE VIAM APERIENS, RAVENNAM, CUM UNIVERSO EXARCHATU, ALIASQUE OMNES CIVITATES, IN PRIORE FOEDERE CONTENTAS, ROMANIS PONTIFICIBUS PERPETUO POSSIDENDAS, SUIS DIPLOMATIBUS CONCESSIT; ETIAMSI IMP. CAPRONYMI AD EUNDEM REGEM MISSI LEGATI ACRIUS INSTITUISSENT, UT EAS IMPERIALI RESTITUERET DITIONI. Which *Inscription* we may render thus, in the British. *Pipin*, being the first Person that opened the way of the Inlargement of the Church, did give and grant, by his Letters Patents, to the Popes of Rome, not only *Ravenna*, with its whole Exarchate; but all the other Cities mention'd in his former Treaty, (*viz.* in that which he had made before with *Aistulph* the Lombard) to be possess'd by the Bishops of Rome in all time coming; notwithstanding that the Ambassadors of the Emperor *Capronymus*, who were sent, upon this very Account to the same King *Pipin*, had, with the greatest Vehemence insisted, that the said Exarchate and those other Cities should be restored to the Imperial Government.

(u) *Mezeray*, p. 99. says the same, and tells us, that the *Inscription* is on a Marble Stone.

Of this Transaction other Historians of the Roman Church take notice also, particularly *Anastasius, Leo Ostiensis, Baleus* and *Platina*. Only there is some Difference between these Authors. For, whereas *Platina* says, that this happened in the Days of Pope *Stephen the 2d*; *Baronius* asserts, that that Pope liv'd but three Days, and that this happened in the Days of Pope *Stephen the 3d*. And, whereas *Platina* placeth Pope *Paul* the 1st between these two *Stephens*, making him the Brother of the first of them, *Baronius* placeth him after both the *Stephens*, making him to be the Brother of the latter. So that we see how uncertain the Chronology of that Age is, as to precise Years; and that therefore we ought not to be positive. However the Difference of 3 or 4 Years being allowed for, (which is no great thing in calculating the Period of 1260 Years,) we find an Agreement as to this; that *Pipin's Donation* of the Exerchate, was to one of these *Stephens*, (excepting that *Platina in Vita Hadriani primi* says, that the Exerchate was first given by *Pipin* to *Gregory the 3d*, Predecessor to *Zachary*, and afterwards confirmed and ratified to *Hadrian* by a solemn Oath, and with new Privileges by *Charlemain*) at or about the Year 755, or 758. and I think it was most probable, to Pope *Stephen the 3d*, that *Pipin* gave this Gift, towards the end of his Life, and therefore in the Year 755, or 756; as it was in the 2^d Year of the Papacy of *Paul* the 1st, and therefore in the Year 758, that the Palace of the Papacy, viz. the Church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, was begun to be erected.

However memorable is the Character which *Platina* gives us of that Age, in *vita Stephani tertii*: *Nunc vero adeo refrixit Pietas, &c.* "At this time Piety and Religion were so far sunk, that Men did not only not worship God, as formerly, bare-footed, but refus'd any Prostration, with Shoes and Stockings on. They did not cry and weep in the time of Worship, but stood ridiculing it, in the most impudent Manner, laughing and telling Stories one to another, all the while."

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" I speak not of the meaner Sort, says he, but the
 " highest, even the most eminent of the Clergy. And
 " what shall I say further? seeing the more wicked
 " and impudent any Man was then, the more he was
 " honour'd and praised, so little of Virtue was then
 " left in the World. And from henceforth the Chri-
 " stian Religion did decline more and more every Day.
 A true and memorable Account of the Period of Anti-
 christ's being born into the World.

But, to come further to answer the Objection; I say,
 that tho I am far from thinking that the Pope's
 Temporal Dominion was ever equally co-extended, in
 a proper Sense, with his Ecclesiastical Headship: Yet I
 reckon he neither was, nor indeed could possibly be,
 the proper Lord of *Rome*, until he was possess'd of this
 Dominion as well as of the Ecclesiastical Title; nay
 that he never was universally owned to be Supreme
 Head of *Rome* even in an Ecclesiastical Sense, until he
 had a Civil Sanction given him, to exempt him from
 any Subjection to secular Princes.

For, seeing the Denomination of Supreme Head of
 the City of *Rome*, was ever, in all Ages, and by all
 Men, agreed upon to be the Fundamental Title of the
 Headship of the Roman Dominion: The Pope may
 be reasonably look'd upon, upon this very Account, to
 be the Head of the Roman Government; tho he had
 even a smaller Share of *Italy*, annex'd to the Possession
 of the City of *Rome*, than he has been possess'd of,
 ever since the Days of *Pipin*. For the Pope possesses as
 much of *Italy*, at this Day, and ever since the *Donati-*
on of Pipin, (tho not before) as ever was possess'd by all
 the old Kings of *Rome*, down from *Romulus* to *Tarquin*
the Proud; nay and for some considerable time after
 the Expulsion of the Kings, and the Succession of the
Consular Power. And why then should this last Form
 of Government be denied the Title of Supreme, any
 more than the first, during its whole Duration; or
 the second for a considerable time afterwards? For
 all the *Roman Authors* are agreed that the *Regal Go-*
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vernment was as much the *Supreme Government* as the *Imperial*; and that the *beginning of the Consular Power* was also as much the *Supreme Form of Government*, as it was afterward when the *Dominion of Rome* was ten or twenty times larger than before. For the *Dominion of Rome* it self was the *essential Character* which they went upon this Way: Inasmuch as that *Romulus*, who had hardly a Foot of Ground beyond the poor and weak Walls of his Infant-City, was ever look'd upon to be as really *Supreme Lord* of the *Romans*, as ever *Augustus* was afterwards, when the Empire had stretch'd it self over the greatest Part of *Europe*, and a vast Part of the Continents of *Asia* and *Africa*.

Hence it is that (w) *Florus*, comparing the Increase of the Roman Power, to the Age of a Man, speaks thus: *Prima ætas sub Regibus fuit, prope 250 per annos, &c.* That is; *The first Age* (i. e. of the Government of Rome) was under *Kings*, for 250 Years, during which it was exercis'd, round its Mother (viz. Rome) with *Consists* with its Neighbours. This may be said to be its *Childhood*. The next Age begins with *Brutus* and *Collatinus* the *Consuls*, and runs down to *Appius*, *Claudius* and *Quintus Fulvius* the *Consuls*, then taking in the Period of 200 Years, within which time Rome conquer'd *Italy*, &c.

And thus *Tacitus* also reckons the *Fundamental Constitution* of the Roman Government to stand in the Possession of Rome; when he (x) says, *Urbem Romanam ab initio Reges tenuere, &c.* i. e. Rome was at first under *Regal Government*, &c. So that the *Essential Point*, that was ever agreed upon, as that which gave *Denomination* a true *Supreme Form* of a *Roman Government*, was this; that it was own'd and submitted unto as *Supreme* over the City of Rome, and consequently was *Head* of the *Roman People*. And this the Angel himself, who was sent to *John*, to give him the Key of the *Apocalypse*, doth plainly suppose, *Chap. 17. ver. 18.* So that *Romulus*,

(w) Lib. 1. cap. 1. (x) *Annal. Lib. 1. in Exordio.*

as I have said, was ever look'd upon, to be as much the Supreme Lord of the Romans, tho' (at first he had not one Village or Cottage, beyond the narrow Compass of his first Walls and *Pomeria*;) as *Augustus* was afterwards, when, in a comparative Sense, it might be said, *atq; iidem fines Orbis & Urbis erant*, i. e. that the Limits of Rome and the World were the same.

And, besides what was of old; if we descend lower, how confin'd was the Roman Empire, under *Gaius*, upon the Usurpation of the 30 Tyrants, that rose up in several Parts of the Empire? How weak was it under *Valentinian* the 2d? And how much lower and more narrow'd under *Augustulus*? And yet the Possession of the City of Rome entail'd them to the Possession of the Roman People. So that, in this Case, I may justly make use of the old and certain Logical Maxim, that *Majus & minus non variant speciem*, i. e. that Degrees alter not the Essential Nature and Properties of Things; even as it must be said, in all Propriety of Language, that he that were Doge of the City of Venice upon a Declaration of that Republick, (even upon the Supposition, that all its Lands, not only in the *Morea*, but in *Italy* it self, were intirely lost,) that, I say, he would still be Doge, as much as he that now possesses that Title.

Therefore, tho' I should yield to those that make the Objection even to the fullest Extent of their own main Proposal; that the Fundamental Constitution of Antichrist is this, that he claims an Universal Ecclesiastick Headship over Christians; Yet I must still be allowed to add, that I cannot possibly date his full and proper Rise to this, sooner than the Donation of *Pipin* and his Son *Charlemain's* Ratification of the same; by which those Princes did intirely yield the *Dominion of Rome* to the Popes for ever; and, in order to this, gave him the Precedency, even over themselves; inasmuch, that they refused to be owned Kings or Emperors at all, until the Pope had greas'd them with his anointing Oil, and set the Crown actually on their Heads. For tho'

Pipin had been made King, by the Blessing and Declaration of Pope *Zachary*, who joyn'd with him in deposing *Childerick*; yet, upon Pope *Stephen's* coming to *Paris*, to demand Assistance against the *Lombards*, he not only met him, and walk'd before him, leading his Horse; but would be crowned by him again, together with his Sons. And we are equally assured, by Historians, that, after his Death, his Son *Charlemain*, from his Zeal for the Pope, went to *Rome* it self, in order again to receive his Crown from the Holy Father, and therewith the Title of Emperor of the *Romans*.

And surely, this was the Time, when the last Head of the *Roman* Beast, after his having united the Secular to the Ecclesiastical Headship, did (as the (y) *Two horned Beast*, by his double Claim, of being the Successor of *Peter*, as to Ecclesiastical Matters over Priests, and of his being the Successor of the Emperors, as to Temporal Matters over Princes) make an Image of the old *Roman* Empire; which was eminently verified in the Coronation of *Charlemain* and his Successors, by the Title of Emperors of *Rome*, and in that of their apparent Heirs, by the Title of Kings of the *Romans*. For it is evident to any that understand History, that both these Titles, as well as their Authority and Power, amounted to no more than what the Character of an Image does amount unto, in Relation to the Original thereof. For every one must own, that, as the *Roman* Popish Worship is an Image of the old *Pagan* *Romish* Religion: So that *Charlemain's* Dominion and Title also, (preserved since, in some Measure, in the *German* Empire) was never any greater Matter, than a bare Image or Shadow of the Old *Roman* Empire.

Now, ever after this Time, we find, that the Popes laid Claim to a supreme Power, both over the Western and Eastern Emperors, as well as over all Kings and Princes, whose Territories had ever been formerly sub-

ject to the old *Romans*; nay, and over the whole World too, under Pretence of their being Christ's Vicegerents, and the Successors of *Peter*, as Prince of the Apostles; and that therefore they are invested with the supreme Regal Office, as well as with the supreme Priesthood.

Did they not, ever after the Days of *Pipin* and *Charlemain*, openly twist Universal, Secular, and Ecclesiastical Power together? And have they ever gone back, at any time, in the least, from this Claim? Do they not, at this very Day, openly declare, that their *Cardinals* are equal in Honour to Sovereign Princes? And do not their Nuncio's, upon this very Score, take Place of the Ambassadors of all crowned Heads, the Emperors not excepted? Are not several of their Ecclesiasticks Independent Princes upon all but the Pope only, and particularly such as are *Electors* of Germany, viz. those of *Mentz*, *Trier* and *Collogn*?

Nay, did not the Popes, for many Centuries, demand Tax and Tribute, both ordinary and annual, and extraordinary upon special Occasions, not only from *Italy*, but from all *Christian Nations*, and therefore from all *Countries*, formerly subject to the *Roman Empire*? And did not almost all these Nations own the Popes to be Superior to their own natural Princes, and that with their own Consent too, paying them Homage accordingly, as well as Tribute? The old Tax, famous in this Nation, by the Name of *Peter's-Pence*, is a standing Monument of this, as well as innumerable other things, observ'd in our Annals? As particularly, that famous or rather infamous Instance of a noted King, that was forc'd to submit to be openly whip'd by the Monks and Priests, in a very odd manner, to save himself from being depos'd or put to Death? Was it not a Maxim of the Cannon Law, owned then both by Princes and People, that it was in the Pope's Power to depose all Princes, at his Pleasure, by his Excommunications? And are there not Instances of his doing so; and of his being submitted unto accordingly, both by

Princes and Subjects. And when, at length, some Princes declar'd against this; was not the Notion so strong and universal, that the Bulk of the People declar'd themselves freed from their Allegiance to their natural Princes, and took up Arms against them accordingly? He that has ever read the History of past Ages, and particularly the terrible and bloody Wars of the Emperors and Popes Parties, under the Names of *Gibbelins* and *Gnells* or *Welpes*, cannot dispute how great the Papal Authority and Power were at that Time; especially if the memorable History of the Great Emperor *Henry the 4th* be consider'd, whom the Pope depos'd, and set up *Rudolph Duke of Swabia* in his Stead, sending him an Imperial Crown, with this *Motto* upon it.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rudolpho.

That is,

*Christ unto Peter gave the Crown,
Which he to Rudolph sends from Rome:*

Upon whose Death Pope Gregory the 7th, surnamed *Hilebrand*, (in whose Time the Papacy was at its heighth,) was so far from yielding to the Emperor, that he found Means to influence his own Son, *Henry the 5th*, to rise against his Father. This, with innumerable more Stories of this kind, the Histories of those Times are full of. One of which is so memorable, as ought never to be forgotten, *viz.* that the Brave and Heroical Emperor, *Frederick Barbarossa* was forc'd, thro' this Passive-Obedience-Principle of his Priest-ridden Subjects, to yield himself to the Pope, at length, where, after he had been treated as a Beast, as particularly to lie all Night abroad in the Street, before *St. Mark's Palace*, was, at length, trampled upon by the Pope, who kick'd him with his own Feet, saying, it is written, *Upon the Viper and Basilisk thou shalt walk,*

and the Lion and Dragon thou shalt tread under thy Feet. To which, when the Emperor, remembering his Dignity, had said, *Non Alexandro sed Petro*, I do not this Honour to thee, Pope Alexander the 3d, but to Peter; the Pope impudently answered, *Ei mihi & Petro*, thou dost it to Me, and consequently to Peter.

From all these things, (and many more might be added) it is plain, that tho the Pope be properly an Ecclesiastical Head; yet he is really the only Head of Rome, in a secular Sense also, down from Pipin to this Day: And that consequently his being made Temporal Head of the seven hill'd City, (which is as well known, to denote the ancient Seat of the Roman Monarchy, in Roman Authors, as that of Rome it self) that rules over the Kings of the Earth, was that which laid the Foundation, at least in a full Sense, of his exercising all the Power of the former Roman Head, or Romish Beast, under the Imperial Form of Government; but not under the Formal Authority or Title of Emperor; but (as the Revelation elegantly words it, Chap. 13. 12.) before him, i. e. under his View, by his Papal Authority, as a Power superior to him. So that, tho the Pope made an Image of the former Imperial Authority, and gull'd Charlemain and his Successors with this fine Feather in their Caps; yet he reserv'd the real Authority and Power, both over them and their Subjects, to himself, and oblig'd them accordingly, to pay Homage ultimately to himself. Witness the infamous Vassalage which Pope Hadrian oblig'd the Emperor to, A. D. 1157. when he forc'd him to hold his Stirrup, &c. and his setting up a Picture of this in the Vatican. Nay, the same Pope enacted also, in Edicts, as well as impudent Letters to the Emperor; 1. That all the Kingdoms of the World were subject to him; and that he was set up by God, to destroy Countries and Nations, as he pleased. 2. That he was the supreme Head of the Roman Empire; and that the whole Roman Empire was therefore held now of him, as being a Fief of the Papacy.

Now, after this Deduction of things, I could not but conclude, that the *Ara* of the *Papacy*, as the *last Head* or *Form* of *Government* of *Rome*, was, as near as I could calculate it, in or about the Year 758; and that consequently, the Conclusion of the 1260 Years of the Papal Regnancy, must be about the Year 2018, which, according to Prophetical or Judaical Reckoning, is the Year 2000.

And, having laid this Foundation, in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*; I proceeded to adjust the *Three Grand Periods* of the Apocalyptical Reckoning of the Time, that was to be between the Gospel-Times, from the Effusion of the Spirit, on the Day of *Pentecost*, mention'd *Acts 2.* to the *Millennium*.

The (1.) Period therefore, consisting of the *seven Seals*, I supposed to begin at A. D. 33, or 34, and to end with *Constantine the Great*, A. D. 337.

The (2.) Great Period of the *Trumpets*, I did think, most probably, to begin about two Years after *Constantine's* Death, viz. A. D. 339, and to run down to the beginning of the Reformation.

Now, under this Grand Period, I did suppose, that the 1st Trumpet ended with *Theodosius*, An. 395; the 2d with the Ruin of the *Western Empire* of *Rome*, under *Augustulus*, An. 476; the 3d Trumpet with the Ruin of the *Gothish Kingdom*, An. 553; The 4th, first with the *Donation* of the *Exercbate*, to the *Pope*, by *Pipin*, A. D. 758, and then with the Confirmation of this Gift, by *Charlemain*, confirmed by the Total Destruction of the *Kingdom* of the *Lombards*, An. 773, or thereabouts; The 5th Trumpet, interwoven in Part with the former, and relating to the *Saracen Empire*, and the State of the Church then, from An. 622, the Year of the *Hegyra*, to An. 772; and from thence to 1067, when *Tangrolipix* destroyed the *Saracen Empire*; The 6th, relating to the *Turks*, as their History is interwoven with that of the Church, from A. D. 1067, to An. 1453, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Constantinople*; during which time the *Witnesses* were slain, and lay unburied,

buried, afterwards, until the Year 1516; *The 7th Trumpet*, comprehending the *seven Vials*, beginning that same Year.

Therefore the (3.) Grand Period of the *Vials*, begins *An. 1516*; *The 1st Vial* running down to 1564; *The 2d* to 1616, or 1617; *The 3d* to 1648; *The 4th*, from thence to *A. D. 1716*, or 1717, as to the height thereof; but to expire fully, *An. 1794*.—— And, to pass other things, which I have conjectur'd in Relation to the other *Vials*, I only add, that the Conclusion of the Papacy is to be a little before the Year 2000; at which Time, I do suppose the *Millennium* will begin.

In all these things I am obliged to be very short; leaving the Reader, for further Light, to my Apocalyptical Discourse, so often refer'd to already.

However, I cannot dismiss this Inquiry, without observing how many things concur to make me believe, that Antichristianism was never fully fix'd in its Chair, before the Days of Pope *Paul the 1st*, Pope *Stephen the 3d*, Pope *Hadrian the 1st*, and Pope *Leo the 3d*; who were Contemporaries with *King Pipin*, and his Son *Charles the Great*. For, (1.) Tho several Popes, that preceded them, had stiffly contended for Image-Worship, to the Effusion of much Blood, especially in their Squabbles on this Score, with the *Grecian Emperors*; yet they never attain'd to get Idolatry fully established, before *Stephen the 3d* his Time. For his Predecessor *Constantine*, (the Brother of *Desiderius King of the Lombards*,) during his being Pope, for a Year and a Month, was a great Enemy to Idolatry, and beat down all Images out of *Rome* and its Dominions every where; and had the Concurrence of a Synod too, held purposely on this Subject. For which Reason Pope *Stephen the 3d*, or *Stephen the 4th*, according to *Baronius*, was set up against him; tho under Pretence, at first, that he came unjustly to the Popedom, as being only a bare Laick, until his Party set him up, and that the Bishop of *Ravenna* had consecrated him Bishop of
Rome,

Rome, which was indeed owned by *Constantine*. But he told his Enemies, that he had done no new thing: For that *Sergius* the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and *Stephen* Archbishop of *Naples*, had been thus made Bishops, *per saltum*, from being Laicks. This enraged *Stephen* the 3d, and his Idolatrous *Lateran Synod*, which he had got together upon this occasion; to that degree that they pull'd out his eyes, thro' Rage. So that this *Constantine* seems to have been the last *Christian Bishop* of *Rome*. Upon whose Death *Antichristianism*, in point of *Worship*, came to be entirely fix'd. And together with his Ruin, the Pope did a little while after obtain, by means of *Charlemain*, to destroy the whole Kingdom of the *Lombards*, who had been the eminent Opposers of Idolatry all along. And yet as mad as the Pope and his Synod were against *Constantine*, in nulling his Acts, and in establishing Error and Idolatry; they agreed that all *Baptisms* and *Extreme Unctions*, performed either by himself or any others during his time, should be owned to be valid. For it seems the Church of *Rome* was not quite so nonsensical as some pretended Protestants amongst us; who do not only damn Ecclesiastical Mens Acts, because not just of their way, but likewise do condemn, as null and void, the very Acts of Bishops, who, as they pretend, are no Bishops, because of their invading the Sees of others, and thus breaking their Chimerical Notion of an uninterrupted Succession. (2.) As *Antichristianism*, came both into the Creed and *Worship* of the Romish Church, in Pope *Stephen's* Time; (in whose Days, says *Onuphrius Panvinus*, in his Chronology of the Popes, added to *Platina's* History, the 11th *Grand Schism* happened, the greatest of all others that had been before) so, as *Platina* tells us, the Morals of Men bore Proportion to both; such universal Wickedness having come in with both, as never was known before. (3.) And, whereas the Popes had only an empty Title formerly of being universal Bishops; they were then invested with Supreme and Independent Authority, Dominion and Power, Civil as well as Ecclesiastical, both over

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over Rome and Christians. (4.) And, besides these things, it was not till then, that the Princes of Europe agreed, to submit their Faith and Consciences implicitly, to the Determinations of the Pope and his Clergy. (5.) Nay the Pope did then first get the Power to excommunicate Princes and People, as he pleased, nay and to punish them with Death or otherwise, as he thought good, where he could attain to put his Laws in Execution. (6.) And as the Greek Emperors of the East never had one Foot of Ground in Italy, after this, nor the least Shadow of Power; so there was no Emperor of the West, so much as in Name, from A. D. 755. until A. D. 800; when Charles the Great got the Title of (2) Emperor of Rome. (7.) But then, as I have said, the Western Emperors were no better than Images of Empire: the whole Crowned Heads of Europe, ever after that, being no better, in relation to the Pope, than what the Electors are now in Germany, in respect to the Emperor. Nay they were vastly more Tributary than they, and every way inferior. For, tho the Popes often made Emperors, the Emperors had no Power to make Popes; or, if they attempted it, they were sure to be excommunicated, in order to be deposed.——Now, in Case any Man can shew me a Con-

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(2) Of this Inauguration and Coronation Platina gives us a twofold Account. The 1st is, in vita Hadriani, where he says, that Charles the Great, having waged War against the Lombards, upon the Pope's Request, having subdued them, and put an End to that Kingdom, A. D. 778. which was the Year 204, from its first Erection; he went to Rome, where, after Salutations, he and the Pope went to St. Peter's Church, where they did mutually and solemnly swear perpetual Friendship, in all time coming. And there, as the Pope confirmed him King, so Charles did confirm him in the Possession of the Exerchate, bestowed upon him by his Father. But, seeing no mention is made of any solemn Coronation of Charles then, nor of the Title of Emperor; this is not the principal Thing to be refer'd to; as being that only that answers to the Proclamation of a King, that is afterwards to be solemnly invested and Crowned. Therefore Platina tells us, 2dly. in vita Leonis tertii, that Pope Leo, being desirous to return some eminent Favour to King Charles, who had deserved so well of the Church

Concurrence of these Circumstances, before the Days of *Pipin*, I shall own my self mistaken, as to the *Era* of the Reign of the Papacy. But, as I despair of this; so I hope none will be so silly, as, for the future, to date *Antichrist's* Reign from *Prepararions* to its Reign, rather than from its *actual Mounting the Throne*: Which is just as good Sense, as to date *King, William's* Reign, not from his being *Proclaimed King* or from his *Coronation*, but from his *Landing at Torbay*, or even from the *Birth of the Prince of Wales*; which seems to have been the main Spring of the Revolution. And indeed, at this Rate, we might as justly conclude, that the Papacy began to reign, in the Apostolical Age, seeing the Scripture tells us, that that *Mystery of Iniquity* began then to work, as that it began its Reign either in the Days of *Constantius, Justinian, Valentinian the 3d, or Phocas*. How strange then is it, that no Writer, before me, did ever think of the time of *Pipin and Charlemain*, as the *Era* of the Papacy; which has all the Characters and Properties of the begun Regnancy of the *Papal Antichrist*, as the *last Supreme Head* of the *Romish Beast*; or of the *Romish Beast* as rid upon by the *Scarlet Whore*; or of the *Beast with two Horns*, that made an Image of the *Old Roman Imperial Government*, at the same

Church, and considering how weak the Emperors of Constantinople were to support that Dignity, and that upon this Account Rome and Italy were exposed to endless Calamities; he did therefore, at the desire and Prayers of the People, after Divine Worship in the Palace of St. Peter, in the Year 800, declare Charles to be Emperor, pronouncing it with a loud Voice, and placing a Diadem on his Head; all the People shouting and crying out, *Carolo Augusto, à Deo Coronato, Magno & Pacifico Imperatori, Vita & Victoria*; that is, May Charles the August, Crowned by God, the Great and Flourishing Emperor, be blest with Life and Victory. Now, says Platina, at the same time that Charles was Crowned Emperor of the Romans, his Son *Pipin* was declared and anointed King of Italy, which was to answer the Old Title of *Cæsar*, which after *Domitian's* Time was never used to signify Emperor, (for the Senate, by a Law, had order'd the contrary) but was a Title given to the apparent Successor, and which is now continued in Germany, in the Title of *King of the Romans*.

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time that he exercised the Supreme Government, before that Shadow of the old Roman Imperial Government, or above it, as the Sovereign of all Emperors as well as Kings.

So that, as the little Horn, that came up last, Dan. 7. 8, 24. is said, 1. Not only to have been divers from all other Kings; and, 2. To have been raised to his Supreme Power at the time of his having subdued Three of the ten Kingdoms, or, as the Words are, by getting three Horns plucked up by the Roots before him: So I may confidently apply this to the Papacy in Pipin's time. For, by his Means, the Papacy, 1. Conquer'd the Exarchate of Ravenna, and consequently was made Supreme Head of Rome, the Emperors of the East being thus deposed; 2. By his means also the Papacy conquer'd the Kingdom of the Lombards, which, next to the Eastern Empire, had been the greatest Enemy of Idol-worship's prevailing, and consequently of the Pope's arriving to supreme Power and Empire; and, 3. By the means of Pipin also, the Kingdom of the Franks (which was afterwards, under Charlemaine, intitl'd the Western Empire,) was abridg'd of any Power over Rome or Italy, and was yielded, in some Sense, to be subject to the Popes. But I have said so much on this Subject already, that it is high time to come to stop now.

And indeed I had added no more to what I have said upon this Inquiry, if I had not been desired to consider a Book, that I was told was come out about a Year ago, with great Applause, on the Apocalypse; viz. that of Mr. Whiston: Which I confess I was willing to consider, as being not only the Work of a Celebrated Author, but because I understood that he had published, not only his own Thoughts therein, but those also, so long and so generally talk'd of, which the Bishop of Worcester has been equally famous for, as for his Skill in Chronology. And indeed I find by Mr. Whiston's own account, that his Book is nothing else, but an Illustration and Improvement of that Learned Prelate's Scheme: Which,

Which, having, as it were, espoused for his own, and written out from the Bishop's Dictates or Notes, he has now, by agreement with him, sent forth with his own Improvements.

Great Names usually bear a great Sway in the World, and I confess it was so with me, in this Case, upon my first View of this Famous Book. What! thought I, may we not expect from such a Paul, when receiving and writing such Truths at the Feet of such a Gamaliel? But I was extremely surprized, when I came to consider the Book more closely. For tho I found Learning enough in it, as well as Mathematical Method: Yet, I must say, that I found in the whole very little either new or solid, unless old Joseph Mede's Scheme new-vamp'd be reckon'd a New Interpretation of the *Apocalypse*.

But, as Dr. *Allix* has lately told Mr. *Whiston*, in his Letter to him, that he has run into many Mistakes, by founding so much upon that Author's Scheme: So I think every one will say the same thing, that is acquainted equally with Mr. *Mede's* and Mr. *Whiston's* Notions.

However, I was glad to find Mr. *Whiston* to have escap'd one of Mr. *Mede's* Grand Errors, viz. that of intermixing some of the *Trumpets* with the *Seals*, and most of the *Vials* with the *Trumpets*; of which Error I took Notice formerly in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 26. And my Surprize, this way, was the greater, because this Mistake was the Native Result of Mr. *Mede's* Grand Notion of the Twofold Parallel Prophecy, viz. of the *sealed Book*, and *open Codex*. For seeing Mr. *Whiston* magnifies this so much, I could not but suppose, that his avoiding the Conclusion, tho he had espoused the Premises, was owing to some other Person's Scheme than Mr. *Mede's*.

I have neither Room here, (considering Circumstances,) nor Leisure, nor Inclination, nor indeed Health, to run out largely upon that Author's Scheme. However, I cannot forbear to mention a few Things here;

here, tho very cursorily ; which I look upon as *Mistakes* in themselves, as well as inconsistent with my Thoughts, upon the present Subject.

And, (1.) I must say, that I see no Reason for his fixing upon A. C. 96, which was the Year of *Domitian's* Death, as the Year of *John's* seeing the *Apocalypitical Visions* in *Patmos*, as he does *Lemma 4. Page 32.* For *Dio Cassius* says, that *Domitian* was kill'd after he had reign'd 15 Years and 5 Days ; and *Suetonius* tells us, that he was slain the 14th of the *Calends* of *October*. When therefore *Jerom* says, that *John* wrote the *Apocalypse* in *Patmos*, in the 14th Year of *Domitian* ; Learned Men have hitherto agreed, that it was A. C. 95, that the *Apocalypse* ought to be dated from. But I am apt to think, that *Jerom* was mistaken, when he makes *John's* *Relocation* to *Patmos* so late. For, by what *John* says to the Church of *Smyrna*, Chap. 2. ver. 9, 10. It is plain to me, that *Domitian's* Persecution was of ten Years Duration in all ; Days being put for Years. Now it had been very odd for *John* to advise the Christians of *Smyrna* to hold out in Patience for these ten Years, while, at the time of the writing of this, by *John*, all the ten Years were expir'd, or just expiring ; if, as *Mr. Whiston* says, *John* saw the *Apocalypitical Visions* the same Year wherein *Domitian* died. And yet I am far from saying that *John* wrote this at the very beginning of *Domitian's* Persecution : For I am moved by the Authority of *Irenæus* to think otherwise ; who tells us, *Lib. 5. Cap. 20.* as his Words are preserv'd by *Eusebius*, *Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 8.* that *John* saw the *Apocalypitical Visions*, ——— *προς τὴν τέλει τῆς Δομιτιανῆς ἀρχῆς*, towards the end of *Domitian's* Reign ; which I think *Mr. Whiston* strains too much to his Hypothesis, when he renders his Words, at the end of the Reign of *Domitian*. Now, upon the Supposition that *John* saw his Visions while that Persecution was yet raging, and was yet to continue to do so for some Years ; it was very consonant for *John* to tell the Church of *Smyrna*, how long the Persecution, they were then under, was to continue in all ; as it was al-

so congruous for *Irenæus* to use an indefinite way of expressing the Time of *John's* being in *Patmos*, to supply the Defect of his not knowing, certainly, the particular Year of his seeing his Visions. And perhaps he had just Reason to write indefinitely after this manner likewise; because, if *John* was several Years in *Patmos*, as it is highly probable he was; it is equally probable, that he might see some of the Visions of the Revelation on one Year, and some another. So that, by laying all these things together, I conclude, that, tho no Man ought to be positive, as to a certain Year, in such Cases; yet that it is highly probable, that at, or about the Year 92, the Date of *John's* being in *Patmos*, and of his seeing his Visions there, must be plac'd. And this was the Reason of my supposing formerly, that the Year 92 was probably the Year wherein *John* first had the Visions, contain'd in the Revelation, communicated to him.

(1.) I wonder how Mr. *Whiston* comes to lay it down, as his 3d Hypothesis, that St. *John* should use Roman Years in his Calculations. For as I have demonstrated in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 19, &c. he uses no other Years than *Daniel* used before him, viz. Years of 360 Days apiece.

But however, I am glad to hear from him, Page 85, that the Bishop of Worcester, has, by the help of distinguishing between *Prophetical* and *Julian* Years, attain'd to an exact Calculation of *Daniel's Weeks*: Which I hope we shall see in due time. However, as I have made an *Essay* this way already, in the 4th Chapter of the preceding Book; so I hope it is no Injustice either to him or Mr. *Whiston*, to say, that near 7 Years ago, I publish'd that Distinction, which I had discovered many Years before. When therefore Mr. *Whiston* says, that this was not known for so many Ages, till our excellent Chronologer and Scripturist, the Lord Bishop of Worcester, made this Observation, and so laid a firm Foundation for the clearing of it: I suppose Mr. *Whiston* meant only to say, that the Bishop, so far as he knew, was the first Discoverer

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verer of it ; for I presume, he will not say he was the first Publisher thereof. And, tho I shall not question, but that he might have made this Observation long before I was born ; he being a much elder Man than I am ; yet, as I never saw him, so I cannot be supposed to have received any Light, either in this, or in (y) any other respect, from him ; as indeed, I never had the least Information, this way, from any Man whatsoever.

But to proceed, (1.) It is plain, *That the three Grand Apocalyptical Numbers of 1260 Days, 42 Months, and Time, Times and an Half, are not only Synchronical, but must be interpreted Prophetically, so as Years must be understood by*

(y) Were it not, that the B. of W. is so highly Celebrated, as the only Oedipus of the Revelation in our Age, I might have Reason to suspect that he might have been owing to a very obscure Author, for some Hints of this kind ; especially, if I have had Reason to know, that he has condescended so far, as to peruse even a small Discourse, containing, A New Account of the Rise and Fall of the Papacy. E. G. Whereas I had formerly, near seven Years ago, in my Apocalyptical Discourse, viz. in the Postscript to it, Page 171, drawn a memorable Observation, from Rev. Chap. 1. ver. 19. compared with Chap. 4. ver. 1. It cannot but be supposed to be pretty odd, at least to me ; to find the same Passage, with no Alteration, excepting that of Words, introduc'd by Mr. Whiston, with this pompous Preamble, Page 31. And besides this, — there is another Argument, — and which, as I own, was first observed to me, by our great Chronologer, and most accurate Enquirer into these Matters, the present Lord Bishop of Worcester. And then he proceeds to tell the World, as News, what I had published long before ; nay, and to draw from it the very same Conclusion I did, in Relation to the 7 Epistles to the Asiatick Churches ; which looks the more likely to have been taken from me, because it is altogether Foreign to Mr. Mede's Scheme, (of which, that of the Bishop and Mr. Whiston, is a profess'd Improvement, as Mr. Whiston tells us in his Latin Dedication,) to discard these 7 Epistles from being Prophetical. And I believe it will not be easy to find any Apocalyptical Authors before me, that made this Observation : At least, I know of none. Perhaps some Persons may think it too mean to own themselves to be oblig'd, in any thing, to the Writings of one, that is called a Presbyterian. However, let the Reader compare what Mr. Whiston says, Page 31, 32. with what I said formerly, Page 171, 172, 173. and then let him judge it as he pleaseth.

Days; as I have proved in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 19. And therefore, (2.) It is impossible to understand these Years to be *Roman* ones. For then the 1260 Days, when reduced to such Years, must be imperfect by 18 Years. For which Reason, I shall be at the Pains again to write out that Scheme, which I gave formerly in my *Apoc. Dis.* p. 26.

The Prophetical Year.		The Julian Year.	
Years.	Days.	Years.	Days.
1.	360 360	1.	365 365
2.	720	2.	730
3.	1080	3.	1095
Half Year.	180	Half Year, about	183
Three Years and a Half.	1260		1278

But, (3.) I must add, that I cannot think of any thing offer'd, that looks like a Reason, why the Revelation should run upon any other Years, than those used constantly before, in the Prophetical Writings. For *John* was not at Liberty in this Case. He wrote only what he saw and heard; and pronounceth a dreadful Curse, upon any that should add or take from his Text, *Chap.* 22. 18, 19. Seeing therefore the same Spirit dictated to *John*, what he was to write, that had done

done the same before to *Daniel*; and seeing, as *Daniel's* Prophecy fills up the *Hiatus*, or *void Time*, between the end of the Old Testament-History, unto the end of the *Jewish Government*; *John's* Prophecies beginning where *Daniel's* end, and running down to the *Millennium*, in a distinct Order; and from thence in a few *Generals*, to the end of Time, filling up thus, the Want of the History of the New Testament: And lastly, seeing the same *Phraseology*, the like *Figures*, and the very same kind of Numbers, are made use of: It is astonishing to me, that all Interpreters before me, should have remain'd ignorant of this Point so long.

When therefore Mr. *Whiston* calculates *Daniel's* 1290, and 1335 Days, by *Roman Years*, I think he goes upon a very precarious Bottom. And as for the other Number of *Daniel*, the new Invention of Calculating which, by *Prophetical Years*, he attributes to the Great Chronologer and Interpreter, the B. of W. (tho I think he might have found the same materially, and that again and again, in Mr. *Beverley's* Writings:) I presume to ask him, What other Reason, either the *Bishop* or *He* can assign, why the Spirit of God calls the Days of this Number, not simply Days, but *Evenings-Mornings*; unless it was with Design, to let us know that he meant not 2300 *Prophetical Days* to be interpreted *Years*, but that he meant *Natural Days*, that were usually distinguish'd into *Evenings* and *Mornings*. I foresee, that Mr. *Whiston* may remit us to his *Theory*, for an Answer; where he supposes, that the *six Evenings* and *Mornings* of the *World's Creation* were *Years*, and not *common Days*. But when he gives us his Reasons, over and above his bare Word, for this; and when likewise he will let us know, whether the *Day of Rest* was a natural *Day* or a *Year*; I shall then readily submit to his Opinion. But, in the mean time, I must be allowed to think, that no more was literally intended by the 2300 *Evenings-Mornings*, than those

those 2300 Natural Days of the *Prophanation* of the Sanctuary, by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; which therefore seems to have continued exactly 6 Judaical Years, 4 Months, and 20 Days.

And here, before I proceed to other things, I humbly beg the Favour to know, how he can reconcile what he says, in the 3d Corollary of *Lemma*, or *Proposition* 14. Page 83. where he approves the *Bishop of Worcester's* Opinion, (which I own to be mine also,) that 3 Times, and a Section or Part, is equivalent to three Years and an half: I say, I desire him to reconcile this with that Part of his 7th and last *Hypothesis*, where he says, that 3 Times, and a Division or Part of Time, does signifie 3 Years and a Month.

And I beg the like Favour, as to the first Part of the same 7th *Hypothesis*, to let us know, upon what Ground he pretends that the τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς, the Third Part of the Earth, is to be understood of the most eminent and remarkable Third Part, which can be supposed. For, by these Words, I am oblig'd to suppose, not only, that we must understand, by the Three Parts of the Earth, the Three Parts of the then known World, viz. *Asia*, *Affrica* and *Europe*, but that we must understand likewise, That either *Asia* must constantly be meant by this 3d Part, (seeing it is certainly the most eminent, as to Bigness,) or *Europe*, because, (in some Respects, especially in later Ages,) it has been the most remarkable, upon the Account of peculiar Providences. I leave Mr. *Whiston* to chuse which he pleaseth to adhere unto. Only I crave leave to think, that the Spirit of Prophecy, where-ever he useth this Phrase, alludes, not to the Three Parts of the Universal World, as it was known of old, but to the Three Parts of the *Roman* Empire, (to which only the Christian Church had the most direct Relation, down from *John's* Days, to the Discovery of *America*) as it was divided, by *Constantine the Great*, between his Three Sons, viz. *Constantine*, *Constantius* and *Constans*. And perhaps, I can pro-

produce such Probabilities for this, as Mr. *Whiston* can never pretend to parallel. In the mean time, I am bold to say, that his 7th Hypothesis is equally precarious as his 3d and 4th.

And here I shall take Notice of one thing further, wherein, as I humbly think, Mr. *Whiston* is mistaken, in Point of Calculation. And I do, at the same time own, that I was mistaken, this way, my self, in some Measure, when I wrote my *Apocalyptical Discourse*. It is that Passage mention'd, *Rev. 9. 15, &c.* in Relation to the *Fourfold Turkish Government*, which afterwards united under one Head. Concerning whom it is said, 1. That the Four Angels were loosed, viz. from their former Confinement; and, 2. That, they were prepar'd to slay the 3d Part of Men. And, 3. That the Period of their Conquests over the 3d Part of Men, was to be that of an Hour, a Day, a Month and a Year. Now, in order to understand this Period, we must know, (1.) That the *Turks* were at first divided into four sole Tribes, or *Sultanies*, who were confederated together for mutual Defence. Of which, Mr. *Whiston* has given us a Scheme, p. 178. tho whether it be exact or not, the Obscurity of History allows us not to know. However, that there were four confederated Tribes of that People, all are agreed. (2.) It is equally agreed, that one of these *Sultanies* or Tribes, with the Assistance of the rest, did, under the Command of their Prince *Tangrolipix*, (otherwise called *Togrol-Beg* or *Togrol-becus*, for which consult *Abul-Pharag.* p. 226. & *Elmacin*, p. 271, &c.) did invade the *Saracene Empire* in *Persia*, and subdued it, destroying the *Caliph*, and reigning in his Stead. Which memorable Transaction, was in or about the Year 1067, or 1068, which Mr. *Whiston* says, p. 173. is well known in History. (3.) Let it be remembered, that the Text gives us a *Threefold Rule* of Calculating the Number assigned. The 1st is this; That we must calculate the *Ara* thereof before their four *Sultanies* were united in one Empire, under one Sultan. And seeing we know that this was not until *Ottoman* reign'd,

which was a considerable time after their Passing *Euphrates*, as Mr. *Whiston* owns; we cannot but know likewise, that the very Foundation of his Calculation, founded on this Passage, falls to the Ground. The 2^d Rule is this, That it is not said, that they shall reign for an Hour, &c. but it is said, That they were prepared for an Hour, &c. i. e. for such a Period of Time, as is afterwards described. Now, seeing the Preterite is used here, and a Preparation spoken of, which is a very peculiar Word, in such a Case as this; I cannot but think, that we are directed to look back upon their Conquest of the Empire of *Persia*, under *Tangrolipix*, as the *Ara* of the *Turkish Preparations* for invading the *Christians*. For, ever after that, they became formidable, and were still Invading some Place or another. Now, as I take this to be the true *Turkish Ara*; so we have a 3^d Rule given, by which we are directed to understand, when the Preparation was to end, by their full Accomplishment of the Work they were sent to do. And this, as the Event has made good, was their entire Conquest of the *Greek Empire*. And this is express'd, by their slaying the 3^d Part of Men, i. e. their subduing the 3^d Part of the old *Roman Empire*, viz. that Part, which *Constantine* gave to *Constantius*, when he divided it among his three Sons. So that the *Turks*, from the Time of their Conquest of the Empire of *Persia*, were gradually prepared for, and made gradual Advances against the *Grecian Empire*, until they intirely swallow'd it up at last. And of this the Spirit of God thought fit to give Warning in this Place, by desiring us to take notice of this Enemy then, when they should pass the River *Euphrates*, which they did under four Sultans or Generals, viz. *Soliman Shabum* and his three Sons, which was towards the end of the thirteenth Century, as is supposed by the best Authors. (a) And when *Soliman Shabum* happened to be drowned, by a Mistake of the

(a) See Pocock's Supplem. ad Abul-phar. Page 41, 42, & 106, 108.

Soard he ought to have passed over at, two of his Sons, viz. *Sankur-zengi* and *Cun-Tugdi*, were so frightened at this Omen, in the beginning of their Enterprize, as to desist from proceeding, and to return with their Followers, to their old Habitations in *Persia*: *Ostogrules* alone, or as others write it, *Ostrogules*, or *Ottogules*, the third Son continuing on this Side *Euphrates*, becoming thus, together with his three Sons, the Head of those *Turks*, that were resolv'd to push their Conquest Westward; the Names of whose three Sons were *Condoz*, *Sarubani*, and *Orbman* or *Ottoman*. So that the *Turks* retain still their ancient Form of a *Fourfold united Government*, a considerable time after their passing *Euphrates*. And this remain'd until such time, as that *Ottoman* the youngest Son did, by Degrees, and with abundance of Artifice, lay the Foundation of making himself sole Monarch: Which at length he attain'd to, but not sooner than several Years after his Father's Death, tho not without considerable Struggles; which was at, or about the beginning of the *fourteenth Century*, which some think was in the Year 1300, or 1301. Now, if after these Considerations, we come to calculate the Number here assign'd in the Text, we shall find they reach down exactly from their Conquest of the *Persian Empire* under *Tangrolipix*, to their Conquest of the *Greek Empire*, under *Mahomet the Great*. But here, as I formerly observed in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 50. an *Hour*, in the prophetick Stile, does always denote, by an indefinite way of speaking, a *Season* or *Period of Time*, be it longer or shorter. So that when it is said, that the *Turks* were prepared for an *Hour*, &c. I take the Meaning to be this; that they were prepared for an *Hour* or *Season*, even for a *Day*, a *Month*, and a *Year*. But if *Mr. Whiston* will insist upon, bringing an *Hour* into the Account, not as a *General*, inclusive of the other Numbers, as *Particulars*, (tho I think he can find no pallel Place, where an *Hour* is otherwise used,) the Matter is so small, as is not worth contending for; seeing, when he has made the most of it, it amounts

only to 15 Days. So that, let us reckon *an Hour* as we please, the *Period* consists of a *Day*, a *Month* and a *Year*; which according to Prophetical Calculation, reckoning by *Caldean* or *Judaical Days, Months, and Years*, make up exactly 391 Years. And accordingly, they reach down from the Year 1067, that is, 1062 of Prophetical Reckoning; at which time *Tangrolipix* erected the *Turkish Empire* in *Persia*, upon the Ruins of that of the *Saracens*, and so conclude with that memorable Year, 1453, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Constantinople*, and consequently conquered the *third Part* of *Men*, or the *third Part* of the *Old Roman Empire*, and erected his own *Empire* upon the Ruins of the *Grecian one*. But in case that we think proper to reckon by common Years here, (I mean as to the Year of Commencement and Conclusion of the 391 Years, the Reader will find, that it took up about five Years from the taking of *Constantinople*, before the Turks attained to have all Troubles in the *Eastern Empire* composed, and all things relating to its Security fully settled and adjusted. So that, according to this Reckoning, the 391 Years lead us down from the vulgar Year 1067, to the Year 1458. And indeed, upon second Thoughts, I must own that this is the truer Reckoning. For as Historians reckon by *Vulgar Years*, and *John* by *Prophetical ones*; and as these 391 Years must be *Prophetical*, because they are part of the 1260 Years: So they do exactly fill up the Space between the Year 1067, and the Year 1458; a Year as memorable, in some respects, as the former, for the taking of *Peloponesus*, which was followed by the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Trebizond*, and consequently of the whole *Grecian Empire*——Now, had *Mr. Whiston* considered this, he needed not to have taken such vast Pains, as I find he has done, to begin the *Ara* of the *Turkish Preparations* with *Ottoman*, in order to conclude it with the Year 1697. when *Prince Eugene* of *Savoy* obtain'd his memorable Victory over the *Turks* in *Hungary*. For, in the 1st Place, the time of *Ottoman's* beginning to reign is so obscure, that it is surprizing

to me that Mr. *Whiston* should not only fix upon the Year of the beginning of the *Ottoman Empire*, as if he were certain that it was the Year 1301, but condescend also upon the *Month* and *Day* thereof, as if he were next to certain that it was *May* 19, that Year. 2^{dly}. Why shou'd the Victory of Prince *Eugene* over the *Turks*, Sept. 1. 1697. be reckon'd the conclusive Year and Day of the *Turkish Woe*, any more than the time of their being defeated, when they beseiged *Vienna*, when they were so near taking it, some Years before. For either Mr. *Whiston* meant to say, that the Victory in 1697, was the end of the *Turkish Preparations*, by their intire Conquest of the third Part of *Men*, or the Inhabitants of the *Grecian Empire*; or that it was the end of all *Turkish Hostilities* against the Christians; or lastly that it was the final end of their Government as an Empire. The last he cannot say. The second he can as little say, unless he pretend to an infallible Spirit of Prophecy. And, as for the first, it is as contradictory to his Scheme, as it is agreeable to mine, and I think to the Text it self. And it deserves serious Consideration, that after the Conquest of *Constantinople*, *Peloponesus*, and *Trebizond*, the *Turks* were so disposed of in Providence, almost in the same manner, as they had formerly been on the other side of *Euphrates*, as never to be able to carry on their Conquests further Westwards, than the Limits of the old *Grecian Empire*, to which they have been confined since, notwithstanding their formidable Attempts, this way, under several *Sultans*, particularly *Solyman the Magnificent*, and *Mahomet the Third*. And, 3^{dly}. Seeing I have shewed before that all the Numbers which *John* uses, ought to be interpreted by *Prophetical Years, Months, and Days*, I must say, that were his Calculation never so right, as to the Era of its beginning, the Conclusion must still be false; seeing he reckons here after the *Roman* manner of Calculation, making the Sum Total to be 396 Years, and 106 Days. 4^{thly}. I desire him once more to consider, as I hinted above, that he goes directly opposite to the Words of the Text, when

when he dates the *Ara* of the *Turkish Preparations*, from the time that their ancient *Quadroparite Government* was destroyed, by being reduced to one single *Sultany* under *Ottoman*; whereas the *Text* plainly directs us to fix the *Ara* sooner, *viz.* when they were under the Government of four *Sultans* (called by *John* four *Angels*) both before and after their passing over the River *Euphrates*. And seeing the Case is so, and that we have no account of any one memorable Action of that People, before that time, excepting only that under *Tangrolipix*, in, or about the Year 1067, it seems to me to have been the design of Providence to necessitate us, as it were, to fix upon no other Year as the *End* of the *Turkish Preparations*, for the entire Conquest of the *Grecian Empire*, than the Year 1458, or about that time, of *Prophetical Reckoning*, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Peloponesus*, and invaded *Trebizond*, and so gave the finishing Stroke to his Conquest of the *Greek Empire*. For tho *Constantinople* it self was reduced from being the 3d Part of the old *Roman Empire*, when *Mahomet* took it: Yet his Additional *Dominions*, conquer'd by him, did justly intitle him to be Head of the old *Greek Empire*. Thus ended the *Turkish Preparations*, by a full Completion of that *Work*, for which they had been gradually prepared before, and for the performance of which, upon that degenerate and apostate Set of *Christians*, they were commissioned and sent forth by God. Now I shall say no more here, being willing to be short; only I leave Mr. *Whiston* himself, and whosoever shall read this, to compare it, with what he says in his *Essay*, pag. 176, &c.

(3.) But, as I humbly think, Mr. *Whiston* is mistaken, in his calculating some of *John's Numbers* by *Roman Years*, and consequently in those things that depend on that Calculation; So, I think, he is no less, if not much more, mistaken in fixing the *Ara* of the *Papal Antichrist's* mounting the Throne in *A. D.* 456. I shall therefore proceed to shew how precarious an

Hypothesis

Hypothesis he runs upon, when he dates the Reign of the Papacy from the Year 456.

And indeed, I may justly say, that I have done this sufficiently already; having, if I mistake not greatly, sufficiently, nay unanswerably, proved, 1. That a new Head or Government of Rome could never be said to obtain otherwise, than by its being Sovereign Lord of the City of Rome; which, according to the general Idea and Sentiment of all Roman Authors, was then (and not till then) when it attain'd to be own'd, as such, by the Senate and People of Rome, and consequently till it was agreed unto, to be such, by the Confederates of the Romans. 2. And, I think, I have equally proved, that the Papacy never obtain'd this, until Pipin first, and his Son Charlemain afterwards, set it up as such, and gave an Example to all others to do so, enforcing this upon all Men, by Solemn Edicts, and by Penal and Sanguinary Laws.

And therefore, I need to be the shorter upon this Head. I shall therefore only desire Mr. Whiston, (1.) To let the World know, by what Philosophy, or upon what Reason, he makes a distant Preparation to reign the actual Time of a Prince or Government's beginning to reign. For, according to this Method, Antichristianism began its Reign in the Apostolical Age, seeing Paul tells us, that the Mystery of Iniquity began then to work. And, at this rate, every gradual Step that Antichristianism took towards its Headship over Christians, may, with equal Reason, be reckoned the *Ara* of the Pope's becoming the last supreme Head of Rome. And, (2.) I desire he would let us know, why 456, is pitch'd upon, rather than any other Year, as the *Ara* of the Pope's Exaltation. For, I am sure, Mr. Beverly had much more Reason to date the Regnancy of the Papacy from the Year 476, when the Western Empire was destroyed by the Ostro-Goths, than Mr. Whiston can pretend to have, for fixing this at the Year 456, meerly because the Goths, Vandals, and Huns did, for some Years before and after, pillage, over-run and ruin Rome, for a Time, together

gether with several of the *Roman Provinces*, but without fixing any *new Government* over them. For, at this rate of Reasoning he might as rationally conclude, that the beginning of the *Pagan-Conquest* of the *Jewish Nation*, of old, ought not to be dated, neither from the Captivity of the *ten Tribes* of *Israel*, or that of the *two Tribes* afterwards, but from *Shishak*, call'd, in the *Gentile History*, *Sesostris*; because he conquered the Land of *Israel*, for a Time, in the Days of *Rehoboam*, and took *Jerusalem*, and the golden Shields of *Solomon* out of the *Temple*, together with both the Sacred and Civil Treasures, doing whatever Conquerors use to do in the like Case. And indeed, if we compare the Account of that King's Conquest of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, 1 *Kings* 14. 25, 26. 2 *Chron.* 12. 2, 3, 4, 9. with the Account given by Historians of the Inroads of the barbarous Nations into the *Roman Empire*; we shall find 'em pretty much alike. For, if *Alaricus* took *Rome*, A. 410, and if *Athaulphus* the *Goth* pillaged that City, A. 414, yet they left it soon after. And if *Genfericus* the *Vandal*, and *Attila* the *Hun*, made dreadful Devastations in the *Roman Provinces*, from about the Years 455, and 456; and afterwards, tho with several Intermissions, down to the Year 476: Yet these soon expir'd. Now, for a Man to think, that *Popery* was then got upon the Throne of *Rome*, when the Pope himself durst not appear there; and when both the *State* and *Church* of *Rome* were, in a manner, swallowed up, during that Time, and for several Years after; is, to me, one of the oddest Fancies that ever entred into the Head of any wise or learned Man.

And yet, according to his Scheme, that is and must be the Year of the Rise of the *Papacy*. And consequently wonderful Things are to be expected in the concludory Year, viz. 1716. What these are, he gives us an Account of in 6 Particulars, p. 270, viz.

1. That Tyranny and Idolatry will then end; And,
2. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of *Rome*; 3. And the
- 42 Months of the defiling the Sanctuary; 4. And the

1260 Years of the Churches being in the Wilderness; 5. And of the afflicted State of the *Vaudois*; 6. And that the tenth Part of the great City will fall at the same, and the 7000 *Names of Men*, mention'd, Rev. 11. 12, 13. Who were to be slain then; and that, soon after this, the 7th Angel will sound the Great Trumpet, for the Restauration of the *Jews*, and the pouring out the 7 *Visals*, or last Plagues, upon the Beast's Kingdom, in order to its utter Ruin and Destruction for ever.

Now, as for the five first Particulars, they are all one and the same; and therefore, as I have only contracted them to keep up his Number; so he needed only to have said, that Popery would cease to reign after the Year 1716, because that was the last Year of the 1260. But the last Head of the great Events, which he then expects, is, I think of a Heterogenious Nature from all the former, and contains several Things, relating to very different Periods, in my humble Opinion; so that I am oblig'd to let him know, that I find some pretty gross Mistakes wrap'd up in this small Bundle; the disproving of which, will carry along with it also a full Refutation of his Fancy, that all the other Events he speaks of, will come to pass in the Year 1716. To proceed therefore, I say,

1. That the τὸ τρίτον, the third Part of the Earth, or the third Part of Men, denoting, as I said, the third Part of the Roman Empire, when it was in its Glory; we have just Reason to suppose, that, when afterwards the Roman Empire was split into 10 Kingdoms or Parts, the δέκατον, or tenth Part of the City or Empire of Rome, must be supposed to denote one or other of these 10 Kingdoms, and probably one of the most conspicuous and eminent of them. Now Mr. *Whiston* himself, when he gives an Account of these 10 Kingdoms, p. 228. (which he reckons to be, 1. That of the *Greeks*, 2. *Romans*, 3. *Suevi*, 4. *Burgundians*, 5. *Visigoths*, 6. *Vandals*, 7. *Britains*, 8. *Ostrogoths*, 9. *Saxons*, 10. *Franks*.) plainly owns, that the Grecian Empire did, at last, cease

to be the *third Part* of the *Roman Empire*, so far as to become the *10th Part* only. And tho it be certainly inconsistent with this Division of his, to make *Constantius, Julian, &c.* to be no more than *Emperors* of the *10th Part* of the *Roman Empire*; yet there is all Reason to think, that it was high enough to call it the *tenth Part*, in the Days of the last Emperor *Constantine Paleologus*; tho even then it might be justly called τὸ δέκατον, the *tenth Part* (viz. by way of Eminency) of the *Roman Empire*, or of the *Great City*, because of its ancient Title and Dignity, notwithstanding of its narrow Limits and Weakness at that Time. So that all Characters and Circumstances make me believe, that the *10th Part* of the *City*, that fell when the *Witnesses* were slain, as it is mention'd, *Rev. 11. 13.* was that *Part* of the *Grecian Empire*, that remained to the last Emperor thereof, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Constantinople*, *A. D. 1453.* Whereas, when *Mahomet* had intirely conquer'd the whole Dominions of *Constantius*, he might justly be said to slay or conquer the *3d Part* of the Subjects or Territories of *Old Rome*, or the *Great City*. Whence we see, how consistent it is to suppose, that the *Grecian Empire* may equally, tho in different Respects, be called both the *3d* and *10th Part* of the *Roman Empire*. So that I humbly conceive, this Event is over long ago. But it is very common for Men to forget or slight past Things, and to magnifie what happens in their own Times, tho vastly smaller than the former, and to be also too big with expecting things, and, to be sure, in a little time too, which are yet perhaps long ago past over. And I presume to say, that I can assign no other Reason than this, for *Mr. Whiston's* overlooking, in his *Scheme*, not only this wonderful Event, but the *Reformation* also brought in by *Luther, Zuinglius* and *Calvin*; and indeed almost all the most memorable Providences since. But of this more afterwards.

2. Whereas, in the same Earthquake that destroyed the *10th Part* of the *Great City*, it is said, that *seven*
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Thousand Names of Men perished, *Rev. II. 13.* I am still of the same Mind I was in before, when I wrote my Discourse concerning the Rise and Fall of the Papacy, that this Metaphorical Phrase denotes this only, that those *Eastern Christians*, whom *Mahomet* conquer'd, were, generally speaking, so degenerated, in all Respects, as to deserve no greater Character than that of the Names or Shadows of Christians, as being only *Nominal Christians*: And every one that knows any thing of the latter Times of the *Grecian Empire*, (for which we need only to look into the *Bysantine Historians*) must own this to be as true an Account, as a sad one; seeing neither the *Vandals*, *Saracens*, nor *Turks* did ever exceed them, or, I think, equal them, in all manner of Impieties. And indeed, it is memorable, that as the *Turks* are said to slay or destroy the Names of so many Men, or so many *Nominal Christians*, (and we know that the Number 7, whether alone, or with the Addition of so many hundreds or thousands, is a perfect Number of its Kind;) so the *Popish Party* are represented as *Triumphing* over the *dead Bodies* or *Carcasses* of the *slain Witnesses*, i. e. as I formerly explain'd the Phrase, over the *Calixtines* in *Bohemia*, who submitted to the *Papacy*, with the Allowance of a small Mark of Distinction, *Rev. II. 9, 10.* And it is memorable, that both these Conquests, viz. of the *Western Christians*, by the *Papists*, and of the *Eastern ones*, by the *Turks*, are said to fall out the same Hour, *Rev. II. 13.* that is in the same Season or Period of Time, (viz. toward the Conclusion of the 6th Trumpet, a little before the sounding of the 7th) as they certainly did, according to my Interpretation.

3. And now, seeing I am insensibly led to the memorable Account of the *Prophecy*, *Martyrdom*, *unburied State*, *Resurrection* and *Ascension* of the *Witnesses*, spoken of, *Rev. Chap. II.* Let me humbly beg *Mr. Whiston*, to condescend so far, as to peruse what I formerly wrote of this Subject; as he will find it, p. 510 of my *Apocalypitical Discourse*; where, if I mistake not,

I have set this Matter in a clearer Light, than ever it was in before, and demonstrated, as far as such a Subject will allow of such a Proof, that the *Great and General Slaughter* of the *Witnesses*, was then, when the *Waldenses, Albigenes, Piemontois, Wickliffites, Hussites or Taborites*, were so intirely destroyed, as that the whole World believed, there was not one of them remaining alive. And indeed, if some few of them were alive, unknown to the World, they were only alive as *Men*, but not alive as *Witnesses*; seeing, as such, none but themselves knew any thing of them. So that none of all those that had witnessed before, against Popery, were known at last to be alive, excepting the *Bohemian Calixtines*, who had apostatized to Rome, and who had been, for some time, the most imbitter'd and cruel Persecutors of their old Brethren the *Taborites*, because they would not desert the old Doctrine of *Huss*, as they had done. Nay, so exact is my Calculation here, that I shew, that from the Death of the last and famous Martyr of Bohemia, *Andreas Poliwka*, to the first Appearance of *Andreas Carolastadius* and *Zuinglius*; and consequently to the beginning of the Reformation, when, as I think, the *Witnesses* arose, there was, (as near as we can find it out, from History,) just 3 Years and an half. Which, as it answers exactly to the 3 Days and an half of their unburied State, which was to be between the Death of their last Martyr, and the first Revival of the new inspired ones, or those into whom the old Spirit of Life from God, (which was in the old Witnesses,) is said to enter, Rev. II. 11. So is a Circumstance of that Consequence, as was never observed before, nor can be in Relation to any other Scheme; as I am apt to think every Impartial Reader will judge, that will compare the Discourse I refer to, either with Mr. *Whiston's* Scheme, or any other.

I know Mr. *Whiston* will, at first, think, that had I read what he has said, p. 20, &c. I had not been so confident. And therefore, to prevent his thinking so long, I come now to consider what he says. And here,

I find, he tells us this Story. " That the *Duke of Savoy* publish'd an *Edict* against the *Vaudois*, dated " *Jan. 31. 1685*, N. S. and another following, dated " *April the 9th*, which was publish'd in the *Vallies* the " *11th*; and that his *Army* attack'd them on the *22d*, " and slaughter'd many of them, imprisoning, abusing, " and dispersing the rest; and that afterwards, they " that were forced, in *December*, An. 1686, to leave " their *Country*, were kindly entertain'd by the *Prote-* " *stants*, until, at length, they resolv'd to march home " again; which they accomplish'd in *April*, 1690; " and that, after this, the *Duke of Savoy* re-established " them, by an *Edict*, dated *June 4. 1690*; which was, " says he, just 3 Years and an half after their total *Dis-* " *persion*. And he adds, p. 208, that it was from the " *Prophecy*, *Rev. II. ver. II.* " That the most Learned, " the *Lord Bishop of Worcester* expressly foretold this, " before it happened, as is well known to many, and " exactly came to pass accordingly. And thus far, (says *Mr. Whiston*) of this *Prophecy*, seems to me to have been already fulfilled, and that very remarkably. And has not he just Reason to say all this? Is not here uncontroverted Matter of Fact to found upon? —

However, I hope, I may be allowed to make a few Remarks upon this Story, and the Interpretation founded upon it. And therefore, let me observe, (1.) That, had the *Bishop* and *Mr. Whiston* had the *Number* of 4 Years to unriddle, as an *Apocalyptical Number*, instead of 3 Years and an Half; with a Design to serve a beloved Hypothesis, this Story had suited their Design much better than it does now; seeing it is much more natural to reckon the Period of the slaying these Witnesses, from the *Edict* against them of *Jan. 31.* or at least that of *April 9, 1686*, than from their *Dispersion* in *December* following. (2.) It is very odd to reckon, that a particular Persecution of about three Thousand Protestants (for they were not much above that Number, Men, Women and Children; I mean, those that were dispersed first, and returned again, as I was told from

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one of their most famous Ministers, should be look'd upon to be the general and great Martyrdom of the *Catholick Church*; at the same time, that the Bulk of all the reformed Churches was left untouch'd. But Credit is concern'd here: And, for this, all the foreign Churches must be reckon'd to be none of the Witnesses against Popery; and, because the Matter cannot be otherwise salv'd, even the Church of England must be debarr'd from this Character and Honour: For the *Vandois* must be the only Witnesses, as being the only Descendents of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*. To prove which, we are referr'd, p. 204. to the most learned Dr. *Allix*; to whom therefore, I leave the Probation, in Case he will undertake it. Only, in the mean time, as Mr. *Whiston* says, That he wonders at those Expositors, who apply this Prophecy to any others, and especially to those, who apply it to any, or all of the lately reformed Churches, against such direct and express Evidence to the contrary, (which we shall believe when given:) So, I say, that I wonder at the Bishop and him, how they can call such a Passage as this, the Slaying and Revival of all the Witnesses of Christ, during the 1260 Years of Antichrist's Reign, as if the Persecution and Re-establishment of 3 or 4 Thousand *Vandois* was the All of this Prophecy, exclusive of the many Millions of Witnesses for Christ, and against Popery, equally reformed as they; especially seeing, if we consult Sir *Samuel Morland's* History, (not to mention other Authors,) we shall find abundance of other Persecutions which that People were under; wherein they were as eminently preserv'd, and deliver'd from (nay, and much more eminently too,) than they were in this. Nay, we ought not to forget, that the Bulk of that People, and especially those that suffered most at first, and acted most afterwards against the *French King*, are now again forced to live as Exiles in *Germany*; as *Monsieur Arnold*, (the late famous Captain, as well as Minister, of that People, in the Reign of the late King,) told me here in *London*, about five Years ago, being

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being then their Commissioner and Agent, to obtain Charity for them, to buy themselves Necessaries, in order to their settling the more comfortably in their new Habitations. (3.) I desire to know how this is consistent with the 5th of Mr. Whiston's grand Expectations mention'd before, which are not yet come, but must fall out, A. D. 1716. viz. That the *Vandois*, as the *slain Witnesses*, are then to be raised up. It seems there are *two Slayings* of these Witnesses, and *two Resurrections* of them? But why two? Seeing the Prophecy speaks but of one: For there can be no more but one *ultima Clades Martyrum*. And I would hope he does not fix upon a *particular Slaughter*, (tho one would be afraid that *particular* and *general* are confounded here :) For, if he do this, I can tell him of Scores of Persecutions that bid fairer towards the Character of the last and universal Slaughter of the Witnesses, than that of the *Vandois*; in 1686, can ever be supposed to have been. (4.) It is pretty comical to observe to what a Shift the Bishop and Mr. Whiston are reduc'd, when they are forc'd to confound the opposite Characters of the *living Witnesses*, and the *dead and lifeless Carcasses of Witnesses*. For it is plain that they do so, when they represent the *living Vandois* to be *slain* and *dead Corps*. And then, having laid down this admirable *Hypothesis*, they conclude, as admirably, that it was out of great love to them, that their *dead Corps* were not buried, and that therefore it was not their Persecutors that kept them *unburied*, in order to triumph over them, but their *Protestant Friends*; tho it seems their *Popish Enemies* were never so well pleased with any Victory they ever obtain'd, as with *this Act* of the *Protestants*, in keeping *these Corps* above Ground, as Trophies of their intire Conquest over them. Now, until this rare Invention came forth, all Interpreters before were so thick-skull'd, as to understand the Text, Rev. 11. 8, 9, 10. as denoting the very opposite Account to this of the Bishop and his Scholar. And I will for once venture to give my self forth as a Prophet, (with as much Assurance, as Mr. Whiston gives

forth the Bishop for one,) viz. in this, that future Interpreters, if they be not byass'd against Reason, by some odd sort of Insinuations, will be of the opposite mind to that of the Bishop, in all time coming. (5.) And whereas Mr. Whiston gives us a new Criticism here; viz. "That the dead Bodies of the Witnesses are to lie, ἐπὶ τῇ πλατείᾳ πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, i. e. says he, in that broad and great City, for so the Words are best rendred, as I cannot but agree with a Learned Friend: He must pardon me, if I say, that he and his learned Friend, tho they were the most Learned Men in the World, in all other respects, are yet exceedingly mistaken, as to this Text. For; 1. I must let them know, that no true Critick would easily have interpreted πλατεία as an Adjective, equally as μεγάλη, as it stands connected here in this Phrase. 2. Tho some Copies read σώματα, and tho our Version, I know not why, renders it so; yet I suppose Mr. Whiston knows, that not only our Common Copies, but all famous ones, read πώματα, Cadavera, i. e. dead Corps (excepting that the Alex. Manusc. reads it, in the Singular, πῶμα, which every one may see was an Error of the Scribe.) 3. I would have him know, that the Words [shall lie] are only a sort of Paraphrase, as well as Supplement of our English Version, and are found in no Greek Copy in the World, that I ever heard of: and, as I said formerly, I do think they are of no use, but to mar the Sense; which, without this Addition, runs smooth and plain. For the Words run thus, ver. 7, 8. And when they τελευτήσωσιν have finished their Testimony (N. B. this destroys a weighty part of Mr. W's Scheme, who renders, it when they are about to finish it) the Beast, that ascendeth out of the Bottomless-Pit, shall make War upon them, and shall overcome them, καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ πώματα αὐτῶν, and shall kill them and their Bodies (also,) in the Street of the Great City, (Rome,) &c. Now I pray Mr. Whiston to think, what the Spirit of God means, by this double Killing: For here it is said, that the Beast

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first kill'd the Persons of the Witnesses, and then, after they were dead, that he kill'd their very Corps. My Exposition indeed will explain it. For, I have prov'd from History, that when the Bohemian Taborites, the last Remains of the Waldenses and Albigenses, (I mean the last, that then remain'd openly to witness and suffer Martyrdom for Christ) were slain; their Apostate Brethren the Calixtines, who were (in a scriptural and spiritual Sense) no better than the dead Corps of the old Witnesses, were kept up, by the Papists, as Trophies of their intire Victory over the Church. And great indeed was their Triumph then, the Popish Clergy rejoycing and making merry; as reckoning that they should never be tormented any more, by Prophets and Reformers. But they were strangely surprized, when about 3 Years and an half after, they heard of a Carlostadius and Zuinglius, and after them of a Luther, Melancton, OEcologampadius, &c. who laid open their Errors and Vices, with as much Freedom and Boldness, as ever John Huss, and Jerom of Prague had done. And it was not long after, that the Reformation kindled again thro' all Bohemia. I might say much more. However I shall only observe further under this Head, that the Empire of Germany (of which the Kingdom of Bohemia was a Province, as Switzerland was of old, nay Piedmont too, seeing it belong'd to the Kingdom of the Franks, which was afterwards intitl'd the Western Empire under Charlemain;) was that eminent Street or wide Place of the Great City, or the old Roman Dominions, wherein the Witnesses were slain, and wherein their stinking Corps, the Calixtines, were slain also, tho in another manner, viz. by their being despised, abused and ridicul'd. And, it was in the same great Street of the Roman and Popish Dominions, that the Prophets or Witnesses reviv'd and liv'd again, until they were at length raised up to great Glory, to the Terror of their Enemies, by having their Religion incorporated with the Laws of the Empire, and espous'd, profess'd and establish'd, by many Princes, Republicks and Free Cities of Europe. But

it seems all these Events are inconsiderable things, to be brought into this *New Scheme*, as being nothing to the purpose, when compared with my Lord Bishop of *Worcester's* Interpretation mention'd above. But, (6.) I would fain have the *Bishop* to solve this plain *Question* here; viz. how it comes to pass, that, according to this Scheme, *Antichrist* should be supposed to fall, *A. D.* 1716, at the same time that the 7th Trumpet-Angel is only to begin to sound then? For until he, or his *Scholar* shall satisfy the World, as to this Point; I must be allowed to say, that I think, 1. That it is equally ridiculous to reckon a Government to end then, when a previous Declension (that only tends to bring on its final Ruin, at last) begins; as it is to date its Reign, from a Preparation to reign; especially if this Declension, and Preparation, be long before the actual Beginning and Conclusion of the said Government. 2. That it is likewise equally odd, to reckon Christ's Kingdom to begin punctually at the sounding of the seventh Trumpet, (which opens with the pouring out of the first Vial) before that Trumpet has gone on so much as for one or two Years; at the same time, that he must own that the *Papacy* cannot be supposed to be intirely destroyed, nor consequently the Kingdom of Christ to be erected, in its stead, until the 7th and last Vial has run out, so far, as to lay a Foundation for the latter of these, by the Accomplishment of its Design as to the former. If I mistake in this plain Reasoning, I shall think it very strange. But, (7.) Seeing the *Bishop's Prophecy* will be still objected against me, as certain matter of Fact, I find my self oblig'd to say something of it; and therefore I observe, 1. That Mr. *Whiston* words himself here very cautiously, using a general way of speaking, by which I cannot say, whether he meant to tell us, that the Bishop prophesied of the exact time of the Beginning of the Persecution of the *Vandois*, as well as of their Restauration; or of the latter only, after the Persecution was begun. 2. If he prophesied of the first, as well as of the latter, I think he

he should have secured Witnesses to attest it, seeing it was in the Days of King *James II.* But, I think, I have ground to believe, that it was not till some considerable time after King *William* and Queen *Mary's* coming to the Crown, that he gave forth his Opinion this way.

3. I do therefore think, (and I reckon I had pretty good Information of this matter, almost as soon as it was first talk'd of,) that it was not sooner than the begun Return of that People to their own Country, that the *Bishop's Prophecy* began to be talk'd of, concerning the sudden Resurrection of the *Vaudois*, as the Remains of the ancient Witnesses. And I know also, that at the same time, the Treaty between the *Confederates* and the *Duke of Savoy* was so far advanced, that any Man, that was acquainted with the secret Transactions of State then, might have Prophecy'd of the Re-establishment of that People, about the time mention'd, without ever looking into the *Revelation*: For, tho I had never any immediate Access to know such things, yet I could then have told that the *Protestants* insisted upon *this*, as an *Article*, and that the *Duke of Savoy* was not the Man to stick upon it, considering his Circumstances at that time, and the Concessions made him in other respects, as well as the Advantages he had in view, even in this very Point.

4. But let us suppose the utmost, that Mr. *Whiston* can demand of us, this way; yet, seeing I have proved, that the Prophecy was accomplish'd near two Ages ago; the *Conclusion* can amount to no more than this, that the *Bishop* happen'd to guess luckily.

Question. But some will say, What! Is it possible that two Men, so eminently Learned, and such close Students of the *Apocalypse* for so many Years, as Mr. *Whiston*, but especially the *Bishop of Worcester* are, should be guilty of such Mistakes? Nay, did not the most Learned Dr. *Allix* publish a Discourse, a few Years ago, wherein he did materially agree with them, at least in his calculating the time of the Fall of Antichrist? Sure such Judicious and Great Divines must

have very strong, or at least highly probable Grounds, for what they say and publish, with such Assurance?

Answer. As for Dr. *Allix*, it is indeed certain, that he publish'd such a Treatise as is mention'd; wherein, to my great Astonishment, he specified not only the *Year* of the *Ruin* of the *Papacy*, but the *Day* thereof likewise; supposing, it seems, that the *Papal Government* was not to fall gradually, as other Governments use to do, but all at once, or in a few Hours, as a *House* or *Tree* sometimes does, that is blown down by a violent Tempest. But I think that he has changed his Opinion since. For, in his *Epistolary Appendix* to his *two Treatises*, (lately publish'd) which is directed to Mr. *Whiston*; after he had shewed some of Mr. *Mede's* Mistakes, he adds these Words, p. 71. *Sir, This is the Reason why I have altogether renounc'd these Principles of Mr. Mede, which I had before followed but too closely, being prevail'd upon by the Authority and Example of some Great Men, who adhere to them but too much. And I hope, if you consider with Attention, what I have said,—that you will follow my Example.*

However, hence we see, that very learned Men may be very grossly mistaken, by founding upon wrong Principles at first: Tho I must say, that it is a rare Instance to see any renounce them again, and openly tell the World so, even tho they are never so much convinc'd, that they were formerly in an Error. For the mistaken Notion of Credit (which made *Luther* refuse openly to own his Error of *Consubstantiation*, tho convinc'd, this way, before his Death) is a Thing that sways even the most learned Men, in such a Case as this, and frequently more than others. And therefore this honest and generous Confession of Dr. *Allix*, raiseth his Character much higher, every way, with me, than it was before; and will, I question not, raise his Credit higher also, with all ingenuous Men. And I should heartily wish, that both the other great and learned Men would follow his Example, that the Doctor may not be mistaken in his *Hope*.

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However, I come now to make one Effort more, towards convincing them. Whereas therefore the *Question* proposed, does principally require to know, upon what Grounds the *Bishop* and Mr. *Whiston* go, when they seem to be so positive, that in, or near the Year of Christ, 1716, such wonderful things will fall out, as I took notice of before.

And indeed Mr. *Whiston* is not defective, as to the Number of his *Arguments*: For he gives us no fewer than Nine, as they are to be found in the 271st, and 272^d Pages of his Book. But how strong they are, we are now to inquire.

His 1st *Argument* is taken from his own Calculation of *Daniel's 2300 Evenings-Mornings*. Which, seeing he never proved, but only asserted, and seeing I proposed a material *Objection* against it, can be no *Argument*, until he produce Reason for it, as well as the Authority of the B. of *W*.

2. *Arg.* This Year (*viz.* 1716.) is determin'd, says he, by *Daniel's Time, Times and a Part, or three Years and a Month*, i. e. 1110 Years. For from A. D. 606, till A. D. 1716, are just 1110 Years.—— Now, 1. I had thought he had reckon'd before, (as sure he does expressly, p. 84,) that he had interpreted that Number, as I and all others have done, to be *Time, Times and an Half*. But it seems he did not find, that *half a Year* would agree with this other *Epocha* of 606, and therefore it must be called diminutively a *Part*, and that Part must be just a 12th Part, alias, a *Month*, Q. E. D. But, 2. I have already proved, that *Antichrist* did no more begin his Reign then, in any Propriety of Speech, than he did in the Year 456; tho I confess it is the least absurd of the two Opinions.

3. *Arg.* This Year, says he, is determin'd by St. *John's* Vision of the two Courts of the Temple; the inner Court, representing a pure State of the Church, for 360 Years; and the Outer a corrupt State, for 1260 Years succeeding it. For from A. D. 96, till A. D. 456, when the corrupt State began, are just 360 Years: And from thence,
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till 1716, are just 1260 Years. ——— To which I need only say, 1. That these two Periods of his, are the Result of meer Imagination, without any Pretence of Argument for it ; and that, 2. I have already proved the whole Calculation to be false, by shewing that it is no way probable, that *John* saw his Visions so late, as the Year 96.

4. *Arg.* This Year is determin'd, says our Author, by the Vision of the *two Witnesses*, &c. ——— But this Reckoning of his, I have but just now refuted.

5. *Arg.* And this very Year, says he, is also found, by the *Analogy* these *Witnesses* have all along with our Saviour. For, as 1700 Days, the Time of our Saviour's whole Ministry, are to 40 half Days, the Time between his Death and Ascension ; so are 1260, the Years of the *Vandois's* whole Testimony in Sackcloth, to 30 Years, the Time between the *Vandois's* Death, or Expulsion, 1686, and their Ascension into Heaven, A. D. 1716. ——— So far our Author. And now, Reader, I leave thee to judge of this *Mathematical Demonstration* ; for I pretend not to understand it, even tho his Calculations were all infallibly true. But, besides what I have said already, to shew the contrary of this, both as to the Point of the *Vandois*, and as to the Year 1716 ; I must say, that Mr. *Whiston's* Supposition, that Christ's publick Ministry lasted 1700 Days, or four Years and an half, is false ; and if he will consider what I have said against this, in the 4th Chapter of the 3d Book of *Christology*, p. 394, &c. I think he will find this Notion refuted, and that of Dr. *Richardson* and Dr. *Usher* confirm'd, that Christ's publick Ministry was only for Time, Times and an half, or for 3 Years and an half, i. e. for 1260 Days. And, if any Argument therefore can be founded upon *Analogies* and *Congruities* ; certainly my Notion is much more rational than Mr. *Whiston's* ; seeing nothing can be supposed to harmonize more naturally, than the time of the *Witnesses* being in Sackcloth, for 1260 Days of Years, does with Christ's witnessing before ; in a State of Humiliation and Suffering

ring for 1260 *natural Days*; especially, if we consider, that from the time of the *Slaying of the Witnesses* to their *Resurrection*, there were to be just 1260 *natural Days* also:

—— And here let me take Occasion to tell Mr. *Whiston*, that if he will look into that 4th Chapter of the preceding Book, he will find a Refutation of some very material Points of his former Book, intitl'd, *A short View of Chronology*, &c. and particularly his Notion of *Christ's* being born a Month, and no longer, before *Herod's* Death; as he may see, p. 387, &c.

6. *Arg.* Is taken from an odd Calculation. For, says he, *Christ's Kingdom* began *A. D.* 33, and lasted till *A. D.* 313, when *Constantine* became Christian; which makes just 280 Years. From thence, till the ceasing of the *Western Empire*, are 142 or 143 Years; and from thence till *A. D.* 1715, or 1716, are just 1260 Years. —— Now, for my Part, I know not what Argument is to be found in all this Deduction. But I would fain know, whence it comes to pass, that the Author should contradict his 3^d pretended Argument, to adjust things to his Purpose here. For he had told us there, that the pure State of the Church, (which I think is equivalent to the Phrase, *Christ's Kingdom*, at least as used here) did not end sooner than the Year 456: But now he tells us, that it ended, *A. D.* 313.

7. *Arg.* This Year also is confirm'd, says he, from the *Epocha* of the *Ten-horned Beast*, beginning, *A.* 456, and ending, 1716. —— But this is so shameful a begging the Question, as deserves no Consideration. And, I believe, he himself will see the Truth of this sufficiently, if he will read what I have said above.

8. *Arg.* Is taken from his Notion of the Continuance of the *Turkish War*: Which (seeing I have refuted it already) I need say no more of. When therefore he tells me of Mr. *Brightman's* Prophecie, and Dr. *Cressener's*, I need only say, as I did before of that of the *B. of VV.* that they were lucky Guessees, tho drawn from no certain Premises; and just such as I have known some *Astrological* ones happen to be true by Chance,

Chance. But the Nature of Man is such; as that most Men are more taken with *Affirmatives* than *Negatives*: Which we may observe almost every Year, in our *Almanack-Makers*. For, if a Thousand of their Predictions prove false, it is not minded. But if, by Chance, any thing fall out like a fulfilling of what they had said, tho in dubious Words; immediately they are admired as *Prophets*. I might mention several things of this Sort, which I know to be true, and particularly with respect to the famous Predictions of *No'tredame* and *Lilly*; but I must not expatiate now: Only I shall say this, That seeing the Stress, both of Mr. *Brightman's* and Dr. *Cressener's* Conclusions are deduced from a like Notion of the Years of the *Turkish Preparations*, as Mr. *VVhiston's*, they must be equally false as his are.

His 9th and last *Argument* is taken from the Bishop of *Worcester's* famous Prophecy, concerning the *Vandois*. But I have considered this sufficiently already.

And thus I have done with all Mr. *VVhiston's* Arguments: Of the Strength of which, let the Reader be Judge; for I am not willing to say any thing further of them.

And indeed, I am willing to have done with this odd Scheme, tho otherwise I have a great many other things to take notice of, which are equally unaccountable as the former. For, 1. I might shew several Mistakes in his *Lemmata*, or *Preparatory Propositions*. 2. I could also shew Mistakes in his Account of the *Seals*. 3. And more in his Exposition of the *Trumpets*. And, 4. As for his Interpretation of the *sealed Book*, and *open Codicil*, it were easy to shew, how precarious his Notion is, as well as Mr. *Mede's*, upon whom he founds. 5. And, as for his Opinion of the 7th *Trumpet*, and the *seven Vials*, that none of them is yet poured out, it is altogether precarious; (b) especially, seeing

(b) It is enough to render this Scheme very much suspected, that the General Slaughter of the old Witnesses, and the Destruction of the whole

ing he supposeth, that the *Millennium*, or the *Kingdom of Christ*, in its highest Glory, as to this World, is not to commence before the Year 2000. But, seeing I have materially refuted these Mistakes already, by what

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whole Greek Empire, together with the Reformation, and all the eminent Dispensations since, should have been in a manner, wholly forgotten in it, as if they were of no Consideration, in comparison of some other lesser Occurrences. And, seeing Mr. Whiston lays such stress on the Prophecy of the B. of W. I desire he would cast open the Annals of Scultetus, p. 5. and there he will find this Account; that one John Hilten gave forth this Prophecy, (long before the Reformation, seeing he was dead before it;) That the Year 1516, should be the first Year of the Beginning of the Declension of the Papal Power. Of the Truth whereof we cannot doubt, seeing Scultetus cites Melancton, as attesting it, in the Second Book of his Epistles, p. 81. where he writes, that he himself had seen and read this very Prophecy under Hilten's own hand, in a Manuscript of his, being a Comment on the Book of Daniel. But there is another Prophecy much more famous, viz. that double one of Huss and Prague; (to whose publick Trial and Martyrdom I do suppose the Spirit of God does principally allude, where mention is made of two Witnesses, and of their being publicly slain in the broad Street or Place of the Great City, and afterwards of the slaying of their rotten Corps, viz. their Apostate Disciples, the Calixtines.) For John Huss, (as the same Author tells us, p. 6.) cried out of the midst of the Flames, July the 6th, 1415. in the Presence of all the Popish Councill and other Spectators then assembled at Constance: *Hussum crematis; post centum annos Cygnus veniret, quem comburere non poteritis.* That is, Ye burn a Goose, (for Huss signifies a Goose in the Bohemian Tongue,) but after a 100 Years are elapsed a Swan (for Luther in the German Language, denotes a Swan,) will come, which ye cannot burn. And Jerom of Prague being to be martyr'd the 30th Day of May, 1416, told his Murderers, in a calm and composed manner, that, 100 Years after, they should answer, for what they did, to God and him; the meaning of which must be this, that those of their Party should smart for this Act, by other Witnesses, of his Opinion and Way. From whence it is plain, that the Reformers were denoted, as the Witnesses to be raised, that were to succeed the old slain ones; and that therefore they are called by the same Name, in the same Sense, that Elijah is prophesied of to live again, when John the Baptist was meant, as Christ assures us. The words of Jerom of Prague, (as cited by Scultetus, and other Authors) are these; *Post Centum Annos respondebitis Deo & mihi.* And so uncontroversied were these things, that the Bohemians did, in Commemoration of them, stamp a Coin, with this Inscription upon it: and I have been told, that some of them

I have said ; I am willing, at present, to rest satisfy'd, without going further.

In the mean time, if either Mr. *Whiston*, or any Body else, is desirous to have a full Account of my Thoughts

them are yet extant, amongst the Curiosities of some considerable Men. And indeed never was there such a wonderful Concurrence of Providences, down from the Apostolical Age, as happened about the Year 1515, 1516, 1517, &c. For as, 1. A little before, Printing was invented, about 1440. So, in a very little time after, the Press was plied hard by many, and Learning propagated far and near. 2. And the Learned Men that fled from Greece after the taking of Constantinople, reviv'd the Greek Learning, and particularly made both the Knowledge of the Greek Testament, and the Greek Fathers to be inquir'd after. 3. And, to allude to the Scriptural Phrase, it was eminently seen then, That as God himself gave the Word, so innumerable was the Company of them that published the same : New Witnesses arising in every Country, almost every Month ; some to revive one sort of Learning, and some another ; but all of their Labours tending to promote the Reformation. Such, in an eminent manner, (for it is not possible to number all) were *Brasmus*, as to the Latin, with innumerable more ; *Rodolphus Agricola*, *Budeus*, &c. as to the Greek ; *Reuchlinus*, &c. as to the Hebrew ; *Carlostadius*, *Fabritius Capito*, *Zuinglius*, *Luther*, *Melancton*, *Oecolompadius*, *Calvin*, &c. as to Divinity. This is that Year, says *Scultetus*, p. 10. of the renewed Birth of the True Church, which was the 356th Year from the beginning of the former Reformation, brought in by the *Waldenses* ; The 146th Year from the appearing of *John Wickliff* ; The 116th from the beginning of the Ministry of *Huss* ; The 36th from the Condemnation of *John Wessel* of *Groningen*, who formerly taught publicly the same Doctrine that *Luther* did afterwards ; The 60th Year from the beginning of the Defection of the *Calixtine Bohemians* from the Doctrine of *Huss* ; who, as the Author truly says, retain'd only the Name of *Huss*, and the Cup in the Eucharist, as a Badge of Distinction ; but (as he tells us again) were now begun to return again to their old Religion, and were spread, not only thro' *Bohemia*, but thro' *Moravia*, *Poland*, &c. Being patronized by many Great Men, and having most eminent Divines among them, some of whom he names, and says that their Increase was wonderful that very Year, whilst, say he, I am now writing this ; which was A. D. 1617. But alas ! We know since, that things began to take a new Turn for the worse, from that very Year. However, I am very hopeful, that about the same Year of this Century, viz. 1716, and 1717, there will be an eminent Turn of the 4th Vial, (under which, I reckoned, in my Apoc. Disc. p. 67, that we are now) in favour of the Protestants, and against the

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Thoughts of the true Scheme of the Revelation, as far as I have published my Mind this way; I desire, that besides what I have said in this Dissertation, and in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, which I have so often referr'd to; the Reader would be pleas'd to consult what I said, when I explained the Context of the Words, in *Rev. 14. 13.* from whence I discoursed, when I preached upon the Occasion of *K. William's* Death, as he will find it, *Page 39, &c. of that Book.* And perhaps it may likewise be of use, to consult what I have said, in the 4th Chapter of the preceding Book, concerning the *Loganthropos*, particularly what I said there, as to the *Millennium*, p. 344, &c.

And now, that I have mentioned this Period once more, I shall take my leave of it, at present, after I have added one thing; viz. that it is my humble Opinion, that, when that glorious State of the Militant Church comes, there will be some very eminent Discoveries of the Truths of God, and some peculiar propheticall Manifestations of what is to follow. Which is the more probable to me, because, tho the Spirit of God has

most Eminent Princes and Powers that support the Papacy. For tho I am far from Mr. Whiston's Notion, yet I am still of the same Opinion, this way, that I was formerly of. I might add many other things here, but that I am afraid of being tedious. Only I cannot forbear to take Notice of one Thing further, viz. That A. C. 1530. the Remains of the Waldenses in Piedmont, sent two of their most eminent Teachers to Switzerland, to know the Doctrine of the Reformers, and to give an Account of their own. They presented, for this end, a Summary both of their Faith and Government, to Oecolompadius at Basil; wherein they say, "That their principal Objections against the Doctrine of Luther and the other Reformers, were against their Opinions, as to Free-will and Predestination; declaring that their Ancient Faith was the quite contrary of theirs; but that, from a Sense of their Want of Learning, they were ready to alter their Opinion, upon better Information. And, it seems, they did so soon after, mov'd by the Authority of Oecolompadius, Bucer and Capito. The Account of this Transaction we may see in Scultetus, ad Annum 1530; who has given us a Copy, both the Paper of the Vandois, and of the Answer of Oecolompadius, from the Originals, as they were found in the Library of that great Man.

given

given the Church an exact Series of all the Periods, preceding that eminent one ; yet he has thought fit, as it were, to huddle up, in a very little Compass, all that relates both to that Period, and what follows it ; as if he did design, on set purpose, to give us a tacit Hint, that he did adjourn the Particulars, relating to those future Ages, until the Times of proper Prophecy should elapse, and run into that Fullness of the Gospel-Dispensation, which is to begin *first* with the *Resurrection* of the more *eminent Saints* of the *New Testament*, and then with the *Revival* of the *Gentile Church*, *inlarg'd* by the *General Conversion* of the *Jews* to the *Christian Faith*.

I shall only add one thing further, by way of *Coronis*, to my *Apocalyptical Speculations* ; That, it tends, I think, to illustrate my *Exposition* of the *1260 Years*, nay and to render it still more probable ; if we consider the remarkable Things, that the several Periods, according to my Calculation, terminate in. For I do think, (1.) That *Time*, or *360 Prophetical Years*, is that Period, that reaches from the *Papacy's first Exaltation* to be *Head of Rome*, *A. 758*, to his obtaining to reach the *highest Pitch* of his Authority and Power over the *Western Empire* ; which was then certainly, when the Emperor *Henry the 5th*, being expell'd from *Rome*, *A. 1118*, was forc'd a little after to give up the *Power of Investitures* to the *Pope* : which was the last Jewel remaining to the *Imperial Crown* ; which the *Popes* had been contending to obtain, for *360 Years* before. . And indeed if any Person will consult *Usher de Success. Eccles.* He will own that *Antichristianism* was at its height, about the beginning of the *12th Century*. For from the Days of *Pope Gregory the 7th*, called *Hilderbrand*, and *Henry the 4th*, to the Time of *Pope Alexander the 3d*, called *Roland* and *Frederick Barbarassa*, the *Popes* exercised a constant Tyranny over *Europe*, insulting all Princes, and particularly the Emperors, in such barbarous ways, as were never known before. Nor do I think, that either Ignorance, Wickedness or Oppression, did ever prevail

vail so much under any Pagan Government, as during the 10th, 11th, and 12th Centuries; insomuch that even *Baronius* reckons that the *Abomination that maketh desolate*, began about *A. D.* 900. And, (2.) If to the Year 1118, or thereabouts, we add the double Period of *Times*, or twice 360 Years, we shall find some things equally remarkable. For, as I reckon, that *Times*, or 720 Years, do denote the whole Duration of the *Regnancy* of the *Papacy*: So we shall see how naturally these correspond with my Scheme. For, 1st. 360 Years of *Prophetical* Reckoning, being added to the Year 1113, (which is the Year 1118, of the *Julian* Reckoning) where the former 360 Years end; we are led down to *A. D.* 1478. i. e. to the Year 1473, of *Prophetical* Account; about which time the *Taborites* of *Bohemia* were generally ruin'd, destroyed and dispersed by their *Apostate* Brethren the *Calixtines*, who, having complied with the *Council* of *Basil*, *A.* 1436. were afterwards the *Popish* Tools to destroy the *Saints*. So that this Period reaches from the highest Pitch of *Papal* Authority to its intire Conquest of *Christ's* Witnesses; containing the Period of *Antichristianism's* Continuance in full Power and Authority. But then, 2dly. If we join the third *Time*, or the third Period of 360 Years with the preceding, so as to reckon the two *Times* conjunctly, we find that twice 360 Years, i. e. 720 *Prophetical* Years, lead us down to *A. D.* 1833; about which time, as I conjectur'd (c) formerly, the 5th *Vial*, which is to be upon the *Seat of the Beast*, will be poured out. For, as I conjectur'd, that that *Vial* would begin about 1794, and expire about 1848; so it is probable, that the height of that *Vial* may be about 15 Years before its Conclusion. As therefore *Time*, or 360 Years, may probably denote the Period of the *Papal* Increase from its *Inauguration* to its *Meridian* Glory: So *Times* or 720 Years denote his Continuance from thence to his De-

(c) Apoc. Diff. p. 77.

struction, as to the Seat of his Government. And seeing this Period of his Continuance is divided into two Times, or two equal Parts of 260 Years a-piece; it seems highly probable to me, that the first denotes the Period of his Continuance in the Exercise of his full Power and Authority; and that the latter of these Times denotes the Period of the Pope's begun Declension, from about the latter end of the 15th Century, when Learning began to revive again, until about the Year 1812, when Rome, the Seat of his Government, will be destroyed. But then, we must remember, that tho' the Seat, and indeed the Form too, of the Papal Government is to be destroyed by the Effusion of the 5th Vial; yet Antichristianism or Popery it self, as Mahometanism also, will still be kept up, and have formidable Parties to abet and maintain them, as we see, Rev. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. Nay, we find there, that the Popish Missionaries will find means to cement Pagan and Mahometan Princes with themselves, in order to extirpate the true Christian Church out of the World. So that the total Ruin of Antichristianism will not be sooner than the 7th Vial; which runs in to the Millennium. And therefore, (3.) I conclude that the Half-time, or 180 Prophetical Years, denotes the last Period, that begins just after the Destruction of Rome, as it is the Seat of the Beast, and ends with the last Destruction of the united Papal, Mahometan, and Pagan Interests, and consequently with the beginning of the Millennium, about A. D. 2000.

But now, after all I have said; I can honestly say further, that as 30 Years are as likely to put an end to my Life, as 300, (upon which account I cannot be supposed to have had any regard to the Fear of being refuted whilst I liv'd;) So I should rejoice as much as Mr. Whiston or any Man else, to see the Fall of Popery so soon as 1716. But, in the mean time, I reckon'd my self oblig'd to search after Truth, in this respect, as well as in all others, without regard either to Hope

Desire.

And

And thus I come, at length, to the *Conclusion* of what I had to say at present, with respect to the *Theoretical Part* of this Discourse.

I proceed therefore, (2.) To the *Practical Part*. In doing which I shall with all necessary Brevity, 1st. Premise a *general Hint* of its Importance this way; and then, 2^{dly}. I shall consider the *Improvement* which the Apostle makes thereof, in the sequel of this Chapter.

1st. I shall premise something, in *General*, in relation to the *Importance* and *Usefulness* of this Truth. And, (1.) This will help us to see, as thro' a Ray of Divine Light, not only how harmonious the Providence of Christ is, in all the Steps and Adjustments thereof; but likewise how exactly the lower and higher Rewards are adjudged to good Men, in proportion to lower and higher Degrees of Holiness and Usefulness. (2.) We may observe hence, that there is a nearer and closer Harmony and Relation between that Part of *Christ's Family* which is *above*, and that which is *below*, than we can now distinctly apprehend; seeing we see here that eminent Rewards and Resurrections are dispens'd to eminent Christians departed, in some Proportion to the Revivals of the Church on Earth; as is seen both in the Resurrection of the eminent Old Testament-Saints, and the New Testament ones. (3.) It is not therefore enough, to seek to get to Heaven, but to reach, as far as we can, the higher Degrees of Glory. Worldlings are not only concern'd to get such Estates, as they may just live upon, but such vast ones, as that they may live in Grandeur and Pleasure. And sure Christians ought to act thus, as to heavenly Concerns. And it is plain, that this was the Apostle's laudible and noble Ambition. Nay, tho I am far from the whimsical Metaphysical Stretches of some Practical Divines, that tell us, that a Man that would be saved, must abstract wholly from his own Salvation, and love God for himself only, without any direct regard to

Reward ; yet I am bold to say, that that Man can never justly hope to get to Heaven, who seeks after so much Religion only, as, he thinks, may be just enough to carry him to Heaven, without any Regard to the Good of others. For, as Christ truly says, we can then only be said to *honour God* properly, when we *bring forth much Fruit*. Whereas therefore a *General Notion* of *Glo-ry* and *Happiness*, tends to incite Men to mind Religion in general : This *Doctrine* of a *special Resurrection* and *peculiar Reward*, (which none shall partake of but the Christians of the highest Denomination) is *peculiarly calculated*, to incite Christians, to constant, universal and extraordinary Diligence, Care and Concern, to reach higher and higher Degrees of spiritual Knowledge, Holiness and Serviceableness in the World. And therefore this Notion is of great use to revive Practical Religion among Men ; which is now so universally dwindled away into dry Forms, lifeless Rites, and a selfish Narrowness both of Mind and Practice. And I am sure, until such a noble Ambition revive in our Minds, as influenc'd this Apostle, Religion must still decay further ! But when-ever this Spirit comes to revive in the World, Religion will also revive with it, and no sooner. But now, that I have again mention'd the Apostle *Paul*, I shall proceed to the next Point. Therefore,

2dly. I come to consider the Apostle's Improvement of this Notion of the peculiar Resurrection. For which end we must consider what he adds in the sequel of this Chapter, from *v. 12.* to the end.

Now this *Applicatory* or *Conclusory Part* of the Discourse of the Apostle here may be, I think, very naturally taken up under *three General Heads*. For, 1. He shews how he applied this to himself, and what the Use was, which this way he made thereof, *v. 12, 13, 14.* Then, 2. He proceeds to apply this Doctrine to the *Philippians*, by advising and exhorting them to make the like use of this Doctrine, as he did, *ver. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.* And, 3. He adds the *Rationale* of both these,

these, from some weighty Considerations, wherein he and they, and all true Christians, were agreed, v. 20, 21.

(1.) Paul tells us, in ver. 12, 13, 14. What the Improvement was, which he himself made of this Doctrine. — And here I find there are three Things which he says of himself, in reference to this Truth.

The 1st. Thing is this; viz. A fair and honest Confession, that he had not, as yet, attained to a Certainty and Assurance, that he should be one of those eminent Saints, that should be so specially honour'd, as to be rais'd from the Dead at the beginning of the Millennium, and made Partakers of the high and glorious Reward, that was then to be dispensed to such Persons.

In a reference to this, after he had said, ver. 11. *If by any means I might attain to the special Resurrection of the Dead*, he immediately adds, ver. 12. *Not as if I had already attained this, or were already thus perfect*. And, to the same purpose, he says again, ver. 13. *Brethren, I count not my self to have apprehended*.

Now, as hence we see the Apostle's Humility, in making so fair and open a Confession; so likewise we have Satisfaction given us, as to a Great Question, that naturally ariseth hence, viz. *Whether it is possible for any Christian to attain to an Assurance, that he shall be one of those that shall be thus raised and rewarded at the beginning of the Millennium*. For, in Answer to this, I say, (1.) That no Christian can doubt, but that it is possible for God to render a Man certain of this, if he please to impart it to him by a special Revelation. But, (2.) Tho nothing be impossible for God to do, yet it is highly improbable, that ever God did so, or ever will do so. For, 1. Tho a General Assurance of Salvation be well consistent with a studious Concern to grow in Holiness and Usefulness, as we see, in the Instance of this Apostle; yet it does not seem consistent with the End and Design of the Revelation of this Doctrine, to attain to an equal Assurance, this way, that a particular Christian should certainly know this as to him-

self; at least I think, that it is not rational to think that ever God did, or ever will, reveal this to any Man. For indeed the very Design of letting us know of this Doctrine, is to incite Christians to the utmost Diligence, upon this very account, that Men may labour so to exceed themselves every Day, and continue doing thus to the Death, if (as the Apostle says) *by any means, they may attain to this Resurrection from the Dead.* 2. And seeing the Apostle Paul had not attained to any Assurance this way, I know not who can now pretend to have reached it. 3. Nor can I find any thing in Scripture, that can give us any ground to think, that ever any Person shall attain such an Assurance. (3.) But yet, tho I deny, that any full Assurance is attainable this way; I think it not improbable, but that very eminently Holy and useful Christians, may attain to a very fair Hope and Expectation thereof, especially towards their Death and Removal into the invisible World, or the *Hades* or *Paradise* of separate Souls. And indeed I think this is plainly insinuated here by the Apostle, when he says, *If by any means I might attain to this.* — *Not as if I had already attained* — *I count not my self to have apprehended.* For what News had it been, for Paul to have meant and said, that he was not yet raised from the Dead, or made an actual Partaker of the most special Reward. Seeing therefore neither Paul, nor indeed any Man, in his Senses, was capable to speak after this manner; he must necessarily suppose, that a *Rational Expectation* this way is attainable. But then, if it be ask'd, how this is attainable, the Apostle insinuates this plainly in this same place, as we shall further see, when we come to consider, v. 13, and 14. If any ask, whether it be probable that he himself attained to such a rational and well-grounded Hope, as this, afterwards, before his Departure hence? I can only say, that it is highly probable to me, that such a Man, as he was, could not fail at length to obtain this Satisfaction, especially considering the Method he took, as to this Point, ver.

13, 14. And here, let me observe three things, 1. That the Notion that obtain'd, as to this Point, at first, seems to have been this, that this special Resurrection was to be the appropriate Portion, if not only, yet principally, of those that suffer'd to Death for Christ. And this seems to have been at the bottom with the Apostle here, *ver. 10.* as well as in other Expressions, in other Epistles; which therefore I tell the Reader, by the bye, will receive new Light from this Hint; as I might shew at length, were it proper: But I must forbear now. Nay I do believe this might be the first Spring of that General Thirst after Martyrdom, which was in the first Christians, and which incited them to run in and cry, We are Christians, desiring to be put to Death for Christ. 2. I believe the Apostle doth allude to this Notion and Principle, as well as insinuate the Attainableness of a well-grounded Hope this way when he says, *Rom. 8. 35, 36, 37.* That Persecutions, Miseries, and violent Deaths were so far from hurting the Saints, that they tended to make them *more than Conquerors.* Now tho' all Saints shall be *Conquerors*, yet I think no Notion can give us a clear Idea of what Paul means by *more than Conquerors*, excepting this only, of which Paul discourses here in this Chapter. 3. I am of Opinion, that the Apostle did actually attain to a rational and satisfactory Hope and Expectation this way before his Death, and even so eminent a one, as was next to a full Assurance and Plerophory. For so much, I think, he himself insinuates, when he (*d*) says, *2 Tim. 4. 6, 7, 8.* For I am ready to be offered, and the time of my Departure is at hand. I have fought a good Fight, I have finish'd my Course, I have kept the Faith. Henceforth there is laid up

(d) That this Epistle was written near the End of the Apostle's Life, this Text informs us. And I agree with Dr. Pearson's and Dr. Whitby's Chronology thus far; that I think it more than probable, That as the Epistle to the Philippians was written in or about A. D. 63, so that both his Epistles to Timothy were written about A. 66. i. e. a little before Paul's Death, who is supposed to have suffer'd, A. 67.

for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that Day: and not only to me, but to all them also, that love τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ, the Appearing of him. For the Particle here seems to denote some peculiar Appearing of Christ: As the Character of those that shall be thus rewarded, seems also to denote something that few good Men attain to; seeing, there have been but few comparatively on Earth, (as there are few also recorded in Scripture) that long'd either to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, or that desired Christ's hastning his coming to Judgment; both which are included in this Character of *loving* the Appearing of Christ. Now the word ἐπιφάνεια is never used in the New Testament, but with reference to Christ, as I (e) proved formerly. But then it is used variously in reference to him. For, 1. It is used, to denote Christ's *first Coming*, or his appearing on Earth, in the Days of his Humiliation, 2 Tim. 1. 10. And, 2. It denotes also, the *last coming* of Christ, viz. at the Great Day, 1 Tim. 6. 14. 2 Tim. 4. 1. Tit. 2. 13, 14. But then, 3. I take the words I have quoted, 2 Tim. 4. 6, 7, 8. to have the most direct Look towards Christ's *appearing*, at the beginning of the *Millennium*, tho not in an exclusive Sense to his last Coming: For the *First Resurrection* bears a Reference to the *last*, and is to be a Pledge of it; even, as the *happy Millenary State* will be a Resemblance and Pledge, of the glorified State of the Saints, after the last Judgment is over; especially as is represented, under the Emblem of the *New Jerusalem*. And, tho I expect no *Personal Appearance* of Christ at the *Millennium*; yet there will be such *Eminent Manifestation* of him then, (as of old, at Mount Sinai, where the People saw nothing like a visible Representation of him that spoke to them,) as may justly be call'd, *The Appearing of Christ*. And, in this Sense, (if not only, yet principally) we are oblig'd to understand this

(e) Christol. Lib. 2. Cap. 51 p. 203.

Word, as it is used; 2 *Thess.* 2. 8. where the Apostle assures us, that *Antichrist* is not to be fully destroyed, until *Christ* do it himself, with the Brightness of his Appearing. For, tho he has consumed him already, by the preaching of his Word, ever since the 7th Trumpet sounded, and the Witnesses arose, in the beginning of the Reformation; and will consume him further, during the succeeding Vials; yet he and his Kingdom, shall not come to be fully destroyed, as I have shewn, until the Millennium come. But, tho the Formal Kingdom of the Papal Antichrist is to end then, when that Eminent Appearing of Christ's Kingdom shall come to pass, in or about A. D. 2000: Yet, seeing we are told, that after the Expiration of the Millennium, or rather towards the Conclusion thereof, Antichristianism is to revive again, and be more formidable than ever, under the new Name of Gog and Magog, (by whom I understand a general Confederacy of Pagan, Mahometan and Christian Atheists and wicked Men;) and seeing these are only finally to be destroyed, by the last general Conflagration of the World: I do not so confine this Word ἐπιφάνεια, even in this Text, to Christ's Metaphorical Appearing, in erecting his Kingdom so illustriously, during the Millennium, as wholly to exclude the last Appearing of Christ; tho I think that the Apostle does most immediately speak of the first here.

The II^d Thing the Apostle says, in Relation to himself, is this, viz. That he was both incited and encouraged to pursue the special Prize he had been speaking of, and to seek to have Satisfaction this way; because he was apprehended and laid hold on by Christ, for this very End, that he might pursue these, in order to obtain them.

Now to understand this, let me observe to you, that the Apostle seems plainly to look back here to two things, which he leaves us to suppose, and to refer to, as so many known *Postulata*.

The 1st is, The End for which Christ came into the World, which was to lay hold upon Sinners, in order to save them.

The 2^d is, The particular and eminent Expression of Christ's Love to Paul, in his Conversion. In which he did catch hold of him, when he was journeying to Hell, and fighting against Christ.

And, besides these things supposed, we must take Notice of this also, that the Apostle speaks so, as it is plain he alludes to the Games so much renowned at that Time in Greece, mention'd before.

Now tho many run, yet one only at each Match, could receive the Prize, as Paul says himself, 1 Cor. 9. 24. *One receiveth the Prize.* But I shall be obliged to consider this *Agonistical* Matter, and the Apostle's alluding to it, when I come to the 13th and 14th Verses; and therefore I shall pass it now.

However, from these Hints we may the better understand what we are now to consider.

And, 1st. Christ's *apprehending us*, may denote what I hinted before, viz. his laying hold on us, 1. In effectual Calling; And, 2. Afterwards by his Spirit and Supports.

But this may run higher; 1. Backward, to his taking upon him our Nature, for thereby he apprehended Man; And, 2. Forward, to his Design of perfecting our Nature. And this I take to be the principal Meaning of the Word here. For it is not said abstractly, that he apprehends us, but relatively, with respect to the Prize, that we are called to contend and wrestle for.

2^{dly}. The End for which he apprehends us, is, That we may be happy, by reaching the Prize fully.

But, 3^{dly}. It may be asked, How do these *incite* and *incourage* us to follow after Christ, in order to reach forwards, towards the attaining the Prize. Answer,

(1.) These are an *Incitement* this way, if we consider, 1. What an Example Christ is this way, who did so much for us, when he had no particular End of his own

own to serve ; and when we neither desired, nor deserved such Favour. And consequently, 2. What Obligations Men are under this way.

(2.) These are an *Encouragement* this way. 1. Because this way we see Christ is interested in our Preservation. See *Heb. 12. 1, 2. Isa. 53. 10, 11. When thou shalt make his Soul, &c.* 2. Because he has made such rich Provision for our Security, &c.

The *III^d* Thing is, The *Way* which the Apostle took, to reach this End, *viz.* by following after his Master's Example, and treading in his Steps, as nearly as he could.

But this leads me forward, to consider, what the Apostle says of this, in the 13th & 14th Verses.

In which Verses, there are *two Things* to be considered, *viz.* 1. What he run for? *Answ. Towards the Mark, for the Prize of the high Calling of God in Jesus Christ.* 2. The Method he took to reach this End, *This one Thing I do, &c.*

The *Ist* Thing, is the End, or the Thing he run for. This is spoken of, under the Notion of a Prize hung upon a Mark. And here there is a Gradation of no less than *five Steps*. And,

(1.) In the general, the Apostle tells us what he had in his Eye. This he calleth *σύν* & the Mark, the *Meta*. For, in Racing, there was some Post or Pillar, or Arch, erected ; and he that first reach'd that, was reckoned to have perfected his Race, and to deserve the Prize that hung upon it. — By the *σύν* &, or Mark then, Perfection in the general Notion of it, is described : Let us therefore set this Mark before us. For we must never cease running, till we reach Perfection.

(2.) More particularly the Apostle has, in his Eye, τὸ βραβεῖον, the Prize that hung upon this *Meta* or Mark. This was some Crown or Garland ; which the best Racer, or Conqueror, in the Exercises, wore. Which,
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in the *Olympick Games*, was of the Olive-Tree; in the *Pyrthean* of Laurel; in the *Nemean* of a Green Herb, like to Parsley; and the *Isthmian* Garland was a Branch of the Pine-Tree.

Now, by the *βραβεῖον*, the Apostle means, that peculiar and appropriated Share of Perfection and Happiness, which he hoped to receive, in a Proportion to his Services; and particularly, his being raised again at the *Millennium*.

Let us therefore set our Hearts thus on things above, and run for the Prize that is set before us, enduring the Cross, and despising the Shame. And surely, the Vision and Fruition of God, the Company of Christ for ever, the happy Society of the Angels and Saints above, in a State free from Sin, with the Satisfaction and Joy that result from all these, are a Prize worth contending and running for.

(3.) This Prize is said to be the *βραβεῖον τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως* of the superior or heavenly Calling, or as we render it, *high Calling*: That is, it is the Prize, which our superior Calling or Vocation both sets before us, and encourages us to expect.

Our very Christianity is wholly occupied about this, viz. to ripen and prepare us for this Prize, as well as to incite us to it. — Now, in all Callings and Occupations, some End is designed. And every Science or Art is denominated more or less excellent, as its End is more or less noble. — But there is none to compare with Religion, in this respect, which is therefore justly called *ἡ ἀνω κλήσις*, the highest and noblest Calling. For, 1. It is from above, as to its Original and Discovery; And, 2. Its Tendency is upwards, from whence it descended; and to which it is designed to bring us.

What we call therefore, the outward Calling, or our Profession of Christianity, is altogether heavenly. And if we be called inwardly also, we are the more oblig'd to mind this, as well as strengthen'd and encourag'd this way. For then, as it is, 2 Cor.

4. 6. God, who commanded the Light to shine out of Darkness, &c.

(4.) This high Calling is said to be *the Calling of God*. It is high, because Divine. And it is Divine, because it is revealed and discovered by him, from whom every good and perfect Gift descendeth. 2. Because it tends ultimately to bring us to him, and to manifest the Riches of his Glory. 3. Because it is *Ectypal*; for all that is revealed is copied, as it were, from the Nature of God, and is indeed a Discovery and Copy of him, as far as is fit for us to know of him here.

(5.) But it is further added, that all this is *in Jesus Christ*, i. e. by him, and thro' him. For, to go back, by a retrograde Motion, what we have gone thro'; all we have been saying centers in Christ. For, (1.) God is no otherwise seen or known, than in and by Jesus Christ. For *the Father hath no Man seen, neither can any see him immediately*: But he is seen as a Saviour in Jesus; and as the Father of Mercies, Grace and Comfort in Christ. (2.) This Calling of God, is, 1st Brought and offer'd to us by Christ; 2^{dly}, Purchas'd for us by him; and, 3^{dly}, Apply'd to us, by the Spirit sent from him. (3.) The Prize of this high Calling is secur'd in his Hands for us, who is gone to Heaven to prepare it for us. And, 4^{thly}, Perfection it self, in which the particular Reward of every one is included, is wholly in Christ's Hands; out of whose Fulness all receive Salvation. For he is the Head of all Things, and the Repository of all Good. And, in him, the Fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily or really.

The II^d Thing, is the Method he took in running, so as to reach his End; in which there are five things likewise, which are observable, four of which are express'd, and one supposed, with which therefore it is proper to begin.

The (1.) Thing therefore which is observable here, and which the Apostle necessarily supposeth, is this; That he resolv'd to bring his whole Life, and all his Actions, in a Reference and Relation to a future State of Happiness, as
the

the only worthy End of living. For he considered, that Conversion and Glory are only connected mediately, thro' the Intervention of Holiness as the Medium. — Now, what has no Relation to an End, is the Action of a Mad-man; what is done for a silly End is dishonourable; and what is done for a wicked End, is sinful. Our End therefore must be righteous and good, that the Action may be so; and great and noble, that the Action may be honourable. But that which is the ultimate end of all Actions, and a Man's whole Life, ought certainly to be great and noble. And it is not possible that a Man can act as a wise Man, a good Man, and a Man of Honour, (in the true Sense of Honour) unless he act for the Honour of God, and the attaining the Perfection of his own Nature, and the Happiness thereof; which is the same with what our Confession defines to be, to glorify God, and to enjoy him for ever. Therefore these easy Rules and Maxims of Life do result hence. 1. That we ought to do nothing, but what has some Tendency, more directly, or more indirectly, to promote the Glory of God, or at least what is consistent with it, and the Honour of our Profession. 2. Nothing but what tends some way or other to promote our own Happiness, at least nothing derogatory to the Dignity of human Nature. 3. Nothing but what we can hold up our Faces to the supreme Judge upon the Account of, without Shame at the great Day.

Let this therefore be the first and great Maxim of Life: And let us say, is this for God's Honour? Is it for my true Interest? Shall I be approved for this at the great Day.

(2.) This being supposed, as necessarily premised, the next thing observable, is the Intenseness and Concern of the Apostle's Soul in the Matter; *This one Thing I do.* To reach Happiness in the best and most compendious way, was his *hoc age*, his main Business; and every thing else was but a *Parergon* to him, a by-Business, not worth his Observation. And this there-

fore

fore is another Maxim of Christian Wisdom to be duly and seriously considered, laid down, and acted from.

For that which is of greatest Moment ought to be minded in the first Place, and with the greatest Diligence and Intenseness. Hence our Lord, *Matth. 6. 33.* exhorts and commands us, *First to seek the Kingdom of God, &c.* And hence we are so often press'd, to seek true Wisdom, as the first and principal Thing; and with all our gettings, to get Understanding; the Prize of which is infinitely before all things in this World. *Joh* and his Friends concluded of old, *Job 28. 28.* That to fear God, and depart from Evil, was Man's only true Wisdom. And *Solomon* could add nothing to this Discovery, by all his Searches, as we see, *Ecc. 12. 13, 14.* Nor did our Lord add any thing to this Truth in it self. Only he set it in a clearer Light, and made the way plainer towards the Attainment of it. For what saith the Gospel but this same thing; as the Apostle excellently sums it up, *Tit. 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.* For the Grace of God which bringeth Salvation to all Men, hath appeared, teaching us, that denying. — Looking for that blessed Hope, and the glorious Appearing. — Who gave himself for us, &c. Let us therefore act in this also, as the Apostle did.

(2.) The Apostle lays down a third Rule and Maxim of Christian Wisdom, which is to forget the things behind; and only to mind the Things before. — This Forgetfulness is not to be taken in a narrow or rigid literal Sense. For as it is impossible to forget wholly what we have run thro'; so were it possible to forget thus, it were both sinful and foolish. What! Shall we reckon it Duty to lose all Remembrance of God's Benefits to our Souls? Would not an Attempt this way hinder our future Advances in Holiness? — The Meaning therefore, is to be taken only comparatively, and *Secundum quid*. As if he should say, I do not satisfie my self, and sit down contented with what I have attained. No, no, I look upon these things, as comparatively small in Relation to what I may further attain to. Therefore, I do not think so on these things

as to retard my self in the rest of my heavenly Race and Journey. The Expression is *agonistical* therefore, as well as the rest. For those that are upon the Stretch in a Race, contending to come up the first with the Mark, must not (*f*) look behind them, but forwards upon what is before. Let us, in this Sense, forget the Things behind, and press on to the Things before.

But, (4.) The Apostle shews us what he did further, to reach the Prize, *viz.* that *he reach'd forth to the Things before.*

The Original Word, ἐπεντένομαι, which we render *to reach forth*, denotes Contention or Emulation, in those that run in a Race; and so ἐπεντένομεν is he that runs with the greatest Emulation, to out-run all others, in order to come first to the Mark, in order to reach the Prize. Now what Care there is in this Exercise, at this Day, is sufficiently known to many; as in preparing both Man and Horse, adjusting the Weight of the one, to the Strength and Make of the other; and what Concern a good Rider has to sit right and easy to his Beast, to lean forward, to keep the Reins right, neither too slack nor streight, to husband the Horse's Strength, so as not to run him too soon to the utmost, and yet not to trust all to the last Push. With Respect then to such things, does the Apostle use this *Agonistical* Word; which does denote therefore, that he did all that possibly he could to get before all others, if possible, in Christian Services and Attainments. And as this Word therefore does properly denote the utmost Concern and Precaution; and may therefore be rendred more properly and emphatically, *I contend to get up with the Things that are before, i. e. so as I may, altos antevertere, pass by all others, and get before them:*

(*f*) This Horace expresses excellently, Serm. Lib. 1. S. 1.

Ut cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,

Instat equis Auriga suos vincentibus, illum

Præteritum temnens, extremos inter euntem.

So

So the next Word seems more properly to take in the Sense of the former, *to reach forth*, as we render it.

For, (5.) The Verb *διώκω*, which we render *to press*, or *press forward*, signifies not only *persequere* & *insequere*, to follow after the Things before, or to press on towards them; but also it may be rendered *percutio*, *ferio*, I beat or strike; as also *fugo*, I put to flight. — Now this superadds another Notion to that which the former Word suggests, *viz.* that he did not only act the Part of a wise and cautious Runner, emulating all others, and contending to out-run them; but that he used all lawful and allowable Force, Strength, and Activity in his running. He imitated the excellent Horseman that comes in first to the Mark, with Whip and Spur, with that Force, that every one, in the Way, is oblig'd to let him pass them, for fear of being run over, or run down. — Now these things being duly considered, will be found to take in every thing momentous in the Words. — And therefore having made the Sense plain, and set the Apostle's Example before you; all the Application I need to make further, from hence, is this; Let us labour to act the same Part that he acted; and therefore let us go and do in like manner. *Amen.*

(2.) The Apostle having told us, how he applied this Truth to himself, proceeds, in the next place, to direct his Discourse to the *Philippians*; wherein he lets them know, what Improvement he thought they ought to make of the same. And this he insists upon, in the 15, 16, 17, 18 & 19th Verses. — Where we find a *Threefold Exhortation or Advice*, *viz.* 1. To them, whom he calls, comparatively, by the Designation of *perfect* ones; 2. To others that *differ'd*, in this Point, from him and them; And, 3. To *both Sorts* joyntly.

1st. He exhorts those whom he calls *Perfect*, *ver. 15.* in these few, but comprehensive Words; *Let us therefore, as many as are thus perfect, be also thus minded.*

I hope there is no need to insist upon the several Senses of τέλειος, *Perfect*. And therefore, I need only say, that, when it is spoken of, in a religious Sense, and in Relation to Men, it signifies, 1. A sincere and upright Person, as *Psal.* 37. 27. *Psal.* 119. 1. in Opposition to an unsincere Person. But, 2. Tho in the *Old Testament*, this Word seems to have been thus used, at least, in some Places; yet I find not that it is used thus in all the *New Testament*; either when it is applied to Persons or Things. For, (1.) Where-ever it is applied to Persons, I observe, that it is constantly used to denote Christians of an higher Form, and who have attained to higher Degrees of Knowledge, Grace or Usefulness, in a Contradistinction to others, who are of a lower Form, tho otherwise sincere. So that it is used to denote an *Adult* Christian, in Contradistinction to a *weak* Christian, who is comparatively but, as it were, a *Babe in Christ*. Thus, of Necessity, we must understand this Word, *Heb.* 5. 14. And, I cannot think, that it is otherwise used in any other Place; and I know not, that it is ever used in Relation to *Men*, but in these Places following, *viz.* *Matth.* 5. 48. *Chap.* 19. 21. *1 Cor.* 2. 6. *Chap.* 14. 20. *Eph.* 4. 13. *Col.* 1. 28. *Chap.* 4. 12. *Jam.* 1. 4. *Jam.* 3. 2. And again, (2.) I observe likewise, that where-ever it denotes Things, it denotes, at least, most directly, Things more perfect, not so much in Opposition to bad Things, as in Contradistinction to Things that are less perfect in their Kind; as in *Rom.* 12. 2. *1 Cor.* 13. 10. *Heb.* 9. 11. *Jam.* 1. 4, 17, 25. *Joh.* 4. 18. — And certainly in this Sense only can the Apostle be supposed to use this Word here. But then it deserves Observation; that when the Apostle says, *ver.* 12. *Not as tho I had already attained*, (*viz.* not as tho I were certain of my attaining to the *first* and *special Resurrection*, mention'd; *ver.* 11.) it is added, both naturally and emphatically, ἢ ἂν τετελειώμαι, which, I think, is, as if he had said, *or were already come to such Perfection, as this amounts to: But I follow after, &c.* — But, tho the Apostle was not perfect, in

in this peculiar Respect; yet he calls himself, in Conjunction with others, by this Character, *ver. 15.* so that he must mean this here, *viz.* that he, and such of the *Philippians*, as believed the *special Resurrection* at the *Millennium*, were *perfect* in Knowledge, as to this Point, when compared with those that either could not, or would not, comprehend and receive the Notion; tho at the same time, neither they nor he were yet so perfect, as to any like *Assurance*, as to their attaining to be *thus* raised.

Now his Exhortation to those *perfect* Christians, wherein he comprehends himself, is, I think, twofold; 1. That, seeing he had now told them, that he was still of the same Opinion, as to the *special Resurrection*, which he had formerly told them of; he desired that they, who had espoused the same Opinion, this way, would not quit it, upon little Objections to the contrary, how speciously soever proposed. 2. And that, as they believed this Truth, as well as he, they would improve it also, in the same manner he had just now told them, that he did. — For, I think, both these are equally included in the Latitude of the Exhortation; *Let us therefore, as many as are thus perfect, be also thus minded.* For, seeing he had told them, both what his *Theory* and *Practise* was, in Relation to this Point: It is equally plain, that, as he *expressly exhorts* them to the like *Practise* with himself, in Reference to his Opinion, this way; so he does *necessarily suppose*, that they and he were of the same Mind, in Point of *Theory*; seeing he does not only exhort them to be *thus minded*, as he was, but puts them and himself in the *same Class*, when he says, *Let us*; and when he calls himself joynrly with them, and in Contradistinction to others, by the Epithet of being *perfect* Christians.

Id. The Apostle proceeds to give his Advice, in Relation to others, that differ'd from him, and those who were of his Opinion, with Respect to this peculiar Notion. Now, in Reference to them, he says,

ver. 15. *And if, in any thing, ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even the same thing unto you.* —

In which Words we may observe a great deal of Wisdom : Which will obviously appear from the following Considerations. 1. That he plainly, tho tacitly, insinuates, that the *Philippians* were of different Sentiments as to the *special Resurrection* : For he distinguishes them thus ; when he says of the *first Sort*, who held the *Affirmative*, *Let us*, &c. and of the *other Sort*, *And if ye be otherwise minded*, &c. i. e. any Party of you. For, as he includes *himself* in the Number of the *first*, so he does plainly distinguish himself and those of his Opinion, from those that held the *Negative*. 2. But yet, to avoid any thing that might irritate those that differ'd from him, he speaks as if he made no difference at all, between those of the two Opinions. For he does not here, in this Clause, speak to those that differ'd from him, as a Party, but in Conjunction with the other ; and as thus composing one Church, when he says, *And, if in any thing ye be otherwise minded*, &c. i. e. if any of your Number be so. 3. And, for this End, he does not say, that any Person was of a different Opinion, but goes wholly upon a *Supposition*, that such a Thing might be. 4. But yet, he insinuates sufficiently, how firmly he himself believed this Opinion of the *special Resurrection* ; seeing he plainly asserts, that God would *reveal* this Point to the Church, in such a manner, as that even this Opinion should be believed by them, as well as others ; as he did indeed, some time after, by the *Apostle John*, Rev. 20. 4, &c. But, seeing this plain and positive Account has been since obscur'd, by Persecution first, want of Learning afterwards, and weak Glosses since ; I cannot but thank God, that he has been pleas'd to revive this Truth, after its being, as it were, buried in Obscurity, for about 15 or 16 Centuries : Which is one Verification of Christ's saying, *That God is pleased, sometimes, to reveal his Truths to Babes, when he hides them from the Wise and Prudent.*

But,

But, III^d. The Apostle directs his Exhortation, more directly and plainly, to those of both Opinions, in these Words, *ver. 16. Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, (i. e. to be of the same Opinion,) let us walk by the same Rule, and mind the same Things.*

Where we see, 1. How christianly and wisely, the Apostle obviates any Umbrage of Division or Disaffection, that might happen to arise in the Church, upon the Occasion of different Sentiments, either upon this Head, or any other Article of the like Nature and Consequence. 2. How prudently he joyns in himself, in this Respect, equally with those that differ'd from him, as with those that agreed with him; when he says, *Whereunto we have already attained, let us walk, &c.* By which, as he avoids all Appearance of Partiality, so he casts in himself, between the one and the other Party, as a Center of mutual Love and Union, to keep them united, to cement them further; and, in case of any Breach, to re-unite them.

I suppose, I need not say more here. For every one must be apprized, what the Apostle means by the Sequel of the Verse; seeing it is plain, 1. That by the *Rule*, by which Christians *walk*, we must understand the Christian Doctrine; 2. That all Christians *attain* not to an equal Measure of Knowledge this way; 3. That yet all are oblig'd to live up, as far as they can, to their Degrees of Knowledge, this way; without quarrelling with one another, as has been, alas! too common in all Ages; the Wise despising their Inferiours as Fools and Blockheads; and they again crying out against all the Learning of wise Men, as dangerous Notions, and erroneous Speculations.

But now, that I have touch'd upon this Subject, which indeed is the main thing that the Apostle insists upon, both in the 15th and 16th Verses; I cannot forbear to say something further upon it; especially considering, how necessary it is to be insisted upon, in this Age, where Trick, Censure, Envy and Malice, do so much

abound. In doing which, I shall gradually propose these things following, to be enlarged upon by Mens own Thought ; seeing I am oblig'd, at present, barely to propose them, by way of short Hints.

And, 1st. We are to take notice of *three things*, supposed here by the Apostle. (1.) *Supposition*. That very learned, wise, and good Men may have very different, and even opposite Sentiments, in several things, even of considerable Moment. — Nay, as this ever was, so we must expect that it will always be so, more or less, here in this World ; seeing it was so in the Apostolical Age it self : For the wisest Men see but in part, even in regard of Points that we are apt to think are in themselves pretty obvious. (2.) *Suppos.* That good Men may differ, not only in Circumstantials and lesser Points ; but in reference to these Points also, that are agreed on all hands to be essential Articles of the Christian Religion. — For we must remember, that every Difference, as to Essential Points, is not an Essential Difference. It was a Dispute, that related to Essentials, when the Apostles and Elders differ'd whether the Gospel was to be preach'd to the Gentiles ; and had not Peter had a Divine Commission this way, in his Preaching to, and baptizing *Cornelius* and his Family, he had incurr'd the Censure of the *Synod of Jerusalem*. And it was equally a Dispute then, (even after that the Apostles had freed the Gentiles from the Ceremonial Law) whether the Apostles had Power or Right to vacate the Law of *Moses*, so far as they did. Some Christians therefore preach'd, that *unless Men were circumcised and obeyed the Law of Moses, they could not be saved*. And I durst venture to say, they had more to say for this Opinion, than ever was yet alledged, for some later Ceremonies and Models of Government, as necessary to Salvation. But in opposition to those Jewish Christians, *Paul* asserts, that if the Gentile Christians were circumcised, *Christ would profit them nothing*. — Hence we may see, how justly it has been said, of late, by eminent Divines ; *In Necessariis Unitas, in Adiaphoribus Libertas,*

veritas, in Utrifq; Charitas, i. e. That we ought to unite, as far as we can, in things necessary, to allow mutual Liberty in things indifferent, and to be charitable towards one another, in both these respects. (2.) *Suppl.* That, tho there may be very considerable Differences, as to Opinion, between good Men, in both the above-mention'd Respects ; yet, if mutual Love and Affection be kept up, it will be a great Means gradually to lessen these Differences, and in due time to remove them. And for this Reason the Apostle does so earnestly recommend Love and Union here, as also elsewhere ; as we see in those Places, where he labours to compose Differences, as to the eating of *things offered to Idols*, and as to the Point of *observing of Holy Days*.—Hence therefore we may naturally infer, 1. That for any Man or Party to make *Creeeds*, in order to impose disputable Notions upon others, is unscriptural and barbarous. 2. That it is *Antichristian*, to excommunicate or persecute any, for not believing and practising just as such or such a Community does. 3. That *different Sentiments*, (where Men do not own themselves *Atheists*, or of such Principles as are *inconsistent* with the Constitution of a Civil Society, as such) ought to be tolerated, even within the Church, by all Christian Nations, who have any regard, either to the Apostle's Authority, or to their own Peace. 4. That the Differences of Opinions afford an Opportunity for the Exercise of Charity and Forbearance ; without which that eminent Virtue would want frequent occasions of evidencing, who they are, in whose Breasts this Grace does eminently reside. 5. That Differences as to Judgment, ought to make no Difference in point of Affection ; and that therefore, where there are Differences this way, they proceed either from Ignorance and Prejudice, or from worldly Ends, or from both.

2dly. These things being supposed, the Apostle proceeds to lay down this Proposition : That all Christians ought, as far as they have attained, to walk by the same Rule, and to mind the same things ; in order thus to

evidence and to promote, as far as they can, true Catholick Love and Charity.—— See the Commendation of Love, *Rom.* 13. 10. *Gal.* 5. 22, 23. *1 Cor.* 13. 1, 2, and *ver. ult.*—— And consider withal, 1. That as God is Love, so the Image of God must principally stand in Love; 2. That the Excellency of the Heavenly Angels, above Apostate ones, is chiefly discernable in this, that the one sort are acted by Love, and the other by Malice; 3. That the most Essential Difference between good and bad Men, is seen the same way; 4. That Love is the Essential Bond and Tye, by which the Church and good Men are kept united, and is therefore commanded by Christ as his new Commandment, and as the Badge by which his true Disciples are distinguishable from others; 5. That Love tends to recommend Christianity to Strangers; 6. That the higher Degrees we attain to of Love, the fitter we are for Heaven; seeing the Perfection of Love is but another Name for the Celestial Felicity it self.

3dly. Therefore, from all these Considerations, the following *Conclusive Maxims* do naturally result. 1. That the *Articles of Opinion* are many, but the *Articles of Faith* few. For which see, *Heb.* 11. 6. *John* 17. 6. *Rom.* 10. 9. 2. That no Man is justly chargeable with any Opinion, but what he owns to be his *in Thesi*, i. e. in so many Words; nor with any Practice, but what is legally and clearly proved. 3. That therefore consequential Absurdities, which a Man disowns and abhors, tho drawn never so evidently from his Opinion, are unjustly fixed upon him, who declares that he disowns these Inferences, and that he is not satisfied that they are necessary Consequents of his Opinion. Thus *Luther* could never be brought to own the Absurdities of *Consubstantiation*, nor *Calvin* of his *Latitude* as to the *Sabbath*, nor *Arminius* as to his *Notion* of the *Decrees*. And thus those, among us called *Anabaptists* or *Baptists*, have been unjustly charged with denying Baptism, when they only deny the immediate Use of it to Infants and Children, before they come to the Use of

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Reason. 4. That Love is not only a Part, but an Eminent Part of Religion; but that most Opinions and Notions, for which Men usually lose Charity, are not so. Whence it follows, that Christian Love and Charity are indeed necessary; but that Agreement in Articles of Opinion, is neither necessary, nor possible, as the World is now constituted. And hence the Folly and Madness of the common Wish of unthinking pretended Zealots, for their various Orthodoxies, is easily seen, when they *gravely* or rather *dully* (for the original Word *Gravis* signifies *both* these) cry out; *Ob! that all Men were of one Mind*, that is to say, *of their Mind*. But pray Reader be Judge, if the Sense (or rather Nonsense of this) amounts to any more than this; *Ob! if all Men would submit to my Opinion, as the only true one*. And then let it be considered, if this be not as much as to say; *Ob! if God would make all Men of one and the same Age, Complexion, Humour, Degree of Capacity, Method of Education, &c.* 5. Errors, of themselves, tho radically they flow from Sin, are not formally, and therefore not properly, to be reckoned Sins, as being only Infirmities of the Understanding, but not of the Will: For no Man wills or chuses to err, if he can help it. As therefore we hate no Man for being poor, blind, lame, or for being a Fool or Ideot: I see not why we should hate those that err, in Matters of Religion, for want of due Information: this being no more than the Consequent of the Poverty, Blindness, Lameness and Weakness of such Mens Intellects. Seeing therefore we all profess to be travelling for Bliss; shall we fall violently upon them, that cannot be perswaded just to follow our Tract and Way, as judging their own Path the best. 6. That a Party-spirit is directly contrary to a Catholick Christian Spirit, and is therefore inconsistent with Christianity it self. 7. That we ought to avoid needless Disputes, and to avoid Quarrels with others about little disputable Points; unless where Self-defence obliges us to it, or some weighty Consequents depend upon our doing so. 8. That we ought to have

a Care of, loading Men with opprobrious Names, or such Designations, as go under a bad Character in the World with different Parties, whether they be so in themselves or not; such as *Calvinist, Arminian, Antinomian, &c.* But let us imitate Christ who only reason'd against the *Saducees* without calling them by hard Names, *Mat. 22. 29.* 9. That we ought to beware of an indiscreet Zeal, such as that of the Jews, *who had a great Zeal for God, but not according to Knowledge,* or such a Zeal as that of the Apostles, when they desired their Master to *destroy the Samaritans with Fire from Heaven.* 10. That we ought to act from calm, moderate and pacifick Principles; giving due allowances to all Sorts of Men, from the Consideration of different Education, Circumstances, Ideas and specious Authorities and Reasons. Had we been educated and brought up with *Soci-nians at Cracow,* with *Papists at Rome,* with *Adabometans at Mecca,* with *Jews in Portugal,* or with *Heathens in Japan,* or elsewhere; we must have been of their Opinion, unless God had wrought a Miracle to the contrary. And therefore let us *do as we would be done by.* 11. That we ought to acknowledge Worth, where-ever we see it, tho in an Enemy; for *whatever is good is from God.* Let us therefore carefully avoid that opposite Satanical Temper, of representing even the best things, in the worst Dress imaginable. If a Man be *frugal and temperate,* he is often represented as a *Miser*: or if *generous,* as if he were an *extravagant Fellow.* If a Man be *sober and virtuous*: Oh, say some, he is but a *dull Moralist.* Or if another be *strictly Religious*; some will cry out, *Ha, all is Hypocrisy.* But, upon the other hand, if a Man be *over-taken in a Fault,* instead of *restoring him in the Spirit of Meekness,* as the Apostle's Command is; all things too commonly are rak'd up against him, that a wicked Imagination can invent, without any regard to the Rules of Christianity or Charity, or even common Humanity. But let us act the Counter-part to this; without aggravating things. And let Mens Errors of Judgment or Life be what they will; let us

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value any good Thing that we see in them. For if we value Flowers, that we see growing in the open Fields, rather more, than when we see them in the Garden : Should we not rather admire Virtue, when thriving under innumerable Disadvantages ; than when we see it flourish under peculiar and constant Care and Cultivation. 12. That we ought ever to remember, that in many things we mistake and err our selves ; and do therefore stand in need, not only of the Divine Forgiveness, but even of the favourable Construction of Men. And thus I have done with the Apostle's *threefold Exhortation*.

But seeing he adds to this, by way of *Coronis*, his Advice, to follow good Examples, as well as good Rules, in ver. 17. We must not wholly omit to take notice thereof ; when he says, *Brethren, be Followers together of me* ; by which he does not only exhort to Holiness in general, but, as I think, does also modestly insinuate his Desire, that those of the *Philippians*, that differ'd from him, as to the Truth he had insisted upon, might come equally to see and own it as others did. And, I think, that this is further insinuated by him, in the following part of the Verse ; when he adds, *And mark them, who walk so, as ye have us for an Example*.

However, in order to inforce this Advice, he proceeds to dehort and deter them, from falling in with the Example and Practice of spurious Christians, ver. 18, 19. For many walk, says he, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you, even weeping, that they are Enemies of the Cross of Christ : Whose End is Destruction, whose God is their Belly, and whose Glory is their Shame, who mind earthly Things.——I shall not consider these words narrowly, at this time ; nor shall I so much as inquire, whether he means all spurious Christians in the general, or whether he means the Sect of the *Gnosticks* in particular. Only we cannot but observe, how early Satan had sowed his Tares, in the Field of the Christian Church ; nay how great and general a Defection there was even then, both in Point of Doctrine and

and Morals; for they were not a few, but *many*, that walked at this wicked rate described here.—— And I would add this Observation further, That these two Verses seem naturally to fall into a *Parentthesis*; seeing, if we omit them, and read the 20th Verse immediately after the 17th, we see a close Connection of the Thread of the Apostle's Discourse. For thus these Verses run. *Brethren, be Followers together of me, and mark them, who walk so, as ye have us for an Example: For our Conversation is in Heaven, &c.* But this Observation leads me forward to the last Head of the Apostle's Improvement of the Doctrine, which he had insisted upon. Therefore,

(3.) The Apostle proceeds to the *Rationale*, or the *Reasons* of his Exhortation to both Parts of the *Philippian Church*; to satisfy them all, how *reasonable* and *just* it was, that they should unite and agree as Brethren; and that for this *weighty Consideration*; that both, he and they, and all true Christians were agreed, in all the *Fundamental and Essential Points of Religion*; and even in those things that related to the *Resurrection of the Dead*.—— Now his *Consideration* here is *twofold*, ver. 20, 21.

The *1st.* is this, That they were all united so, as *equally* to belong to the *Celestial World*. For, says he, *our Conversation is in Heaven*. Which is as much as to say: Shall we fall out about different Notions and Apprehensions, when we do all equally belong to the Society above, and are travelling thitherwards.

There is nothing that needs any Explication here, excepting the *Greek Word* πολιτευμα, which is of the like Import as πολιτεία, as both are derived from πόλις, a *City*. And I must confess, our Interpreters have render'd this Word very imperfectly, by the Word *Conversation*; when this does, at least, denote our *Citizen-Conversation*, as bearing a Reference to the Conversation of Joynt-Citizens, who are of the same Society, and intir'd to the same Privileges, and act for the same

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same Ends, in Relation to the Honour and Advantage of the Community they belong unto. Hence, as this Word is rendred *City*, Heb. 11. 10. so it is rendred *Freedom*, Acts 22. 28. and *Commonwealth*, Eph. 2. 12. but may better be rendred, in all these Places, a *City-like Government*, and Mens being intitl'd thereunto. So that πολιτεῦμα denotes properly, the Constitution of a City, or the Form and Privileges of such or such a Community. It denotes *Jus Civitatis*, the Burghership and Franchizes of a City, Nation or Empire.

And now, that I have mention'd Nation or Empire, in Conjunction with City; I must observe, that the Notion of all these Three is the same usually, according to both the Old Roman Dialect, and that of the New Testament. As for the Romans, it is evident, that *Urbs*, i. e. *Town*, was the usual Name of Rome, which is hardly ever call'd *Civitas*, i. e. *City*, by any good Author. *Civitas Romana*, i. e. the Roman City, was as much as to say, the Roman Republick, during the Continuance of the Commonwealth, or to say, the Roman Empire, after the Days of Julius Cæsar. Thence it was, that *Cives*, a Citizen of Rome, denoted any Man, that was born in any Town, Village or Cottage, that belong'd to any free Province of the Roman Dominion: So that it was equivalent to that of a Free-born Native with us. When therefore any Nation or Country came to obtain their Freedom, the Inhabitants were said to be *Civitate Donati*, i. e. to be intitl'd to the Privileges of Roman Citizens, as much as if they had been born at Rome it self; whereas others were obliged to buy this. An Instance of both these ways of being Roman Citizens we have in Paul, and the Captain of the Castle of Jerusalem, Acts 22. 25, 27, 28. And in this Dialect Julius Cæsar, when speaking of the Helvetick Nation, or ancient Switzers, (g) says, *Omnis Civitas in quatuor*

(g) Lib. 1. Comment. de Bello Gall.

Pagos divisa est, i. e. Every City is divided into four Villages. Now our best Criticks on this Author are agreed, that by *Pagus*, a Village, *Cæsar* meant a certain *District* of the Province; which therefore he meant also to express, by the Name of *Civitas*, a City. So that a *Helvetic* City was of the same Import then, as a *Canton* of *Switzerland* is now.

Whence it is plain, that the Apostle does not speak, according to our Modern Idea of City, but according to the *Roman* Notion thereof: With which he was well acquainted, seeing he himself, tho born at *Tarsus*, and at a vast Distance from *Rome*, was yet a free-born *Roman* Citizen; *Tarsus* being a Part of *Rome* consider'd as an *Empire*. — So that by *πόλις*, *Paul* means an *Empire*, and by *πολίτευμα*, the *Constitution* of that *Empire*. And, that this was his Idea, appears from hence, that we find him elsewhere using the Words, *Place*, *Country* and *City*, as equivalent Terms, as particularly, *Heb.* 11. 8, 9, compar'd with *ver.* 10. as also *ver.* 14, 15, 16.

Whence it is apparent, that *Paul* speaks here of *Christ's Empire* in general, tho with a special Reference to the higher Regions thereof; and that accordingly, he intimates; that, as it was with him and others, that were *Roman Citizens*, viz. to belong to *Rome*, and to be under its Laws, tho they had never seen *Rome*; so it was also with *Christians* here below, who, tho they had never seen *Heaven*, did yet belong to the heavenly *Jerusalem*, and its *Empire* above, which is the *Mother* of all true *Christians*; our Lord *Jesus* being He of whom the one Family, which is partly in *Heaven*, and partly on *Earth*, is named.

Philo did therefore hit the Truth exactly, when he divides Men into two *Polities* or *Communities*; (b) calling the one *οἱ μὲν γὰρ*, those of this earthly *Empire*, and

(b) P. 405. C.

the other, *οἱ ἐν οὐρανῷ*, those that belong'd to the heavenly Empire. And indeed, the Scripture speaks in the same Dialect, when it says, That the first Adam was of the Earth earthly, but that the second Adam was the Lord from Heaven; as also when it says, That good Men are born *ἀνωθεν* from above, or from Heaven; and that thus they are born not of the Will of Man, nor of the Flesh, but of God.——And this shall now suffice, as to the first Reason of the Apostle.

The Hd. is this, That *He*, and all the *Philippian Christians*, were agreed, as to what related to the *Last Judgment*, and *General Resurrection*, and the *Future and Eternal Glory of all Saints*, after both these were over. All which weighty Points, he represents thus. *From whence also, (i. e. from Heaven,) we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile Body, that it may be fashion'd according to his glorious Body, according to the working, whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.*

The Reader will see, by the bare Citation of these emphatical and comprehensive Words, how vast a Subject I might have to run out and expatiate upon here: But I forbear, so much as to touch upon it; not only because it has been so much treated of already, by innumerable Authors: But because, besides, that I am obliged, not to run out too far beyond the due Limits of this *Dissertation*, additional to the preceeding Book; I think it highly proper, to refer my Thoughts, this way, until I come (if it may so please God) to discourse of the *last Things*, in their proper Place.

I shall therefore only observe, That the Apostle brings this in, to satisfy the *Philippians*, that his *Notion* of the *first and special Resurrection*, was very well consistent with that of the *last and general One*.——And indeed his Declaration of his *Want of Assurance*, as to the *Former*, and of his *Full Assurance* as to the *Latter*; is a full and undeniable Proof, that he spoke of a double *Resurrection*, in this Chapter.

Having therefore, I hope, sufficiently proved what I proposed to prove, at first, I end here, and bid the Reader heartily Farewel.

From my Study,
This 30th Day
of December,
1707.



F I N I S.